THE ACCURACY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

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ETC.

THE ACCURACY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVES IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT PALESTINIAN ARCHÆOLOGY

By

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PREFACE

THE following pages are an expansion of my Sixth Croall Lecture and of my paper delivered at the International Congress of Orientalists in September, 1928, entitled "The Accuracy of Circumstantial Detail in the Early Narratives of the Old Testament." The object of the book is to show that the Old Testament characters, instead of being mere legendary heroes enshrouded in mist, as we have hitherto regarded them, were really playing a part in the actual history and development of the civilisation of the country; or that at least the historical setting in which they are placed by the writers is in perfect conformity with the revelations that have been made to us by the results of excavation in the country, or lands, referred to by them. It may be always possible to deny that the characters, with whose names we are familiar from the Old Testament, really existed; for so far we have found no document, inscription, or writing contemporary with them in which their names are mentioned. We may, in fact, never find any inscription in which even the names of David and Solomon are mentioned. But excavation is proving more and more fully every year that it is no longer possible to deny that the setting in which the Old Testament narratives place them is true to the period referred to; that, in fact, there is actual history at the back of all or most of these narratives.

A year ago who would have believed that the story of the Flood in Genesis might prove to contain actual history? I confess that this is one of the passages of which I had never dared to hope for any elucidation, much less confirmation, from the results of excavation. Yet the recent discoveries in Babylonia, in the neighbourhood of Ur and Kish, leave no doubt whatever that, at the very period into which the story of Noah and his ark must be fitted, the whole country was buried under an inundation which appears to have remained in possession for many years, bringing civilisation to a dead stop, causing cessation of all life and activity in that region, as well as migration of those inhabitants who were able to escape to land at a higher level. The story of Noah, therefore, assumes a new aspect. That his ark should have steered northwards in the direction of higher lands is exactly what we should expect. That it came to rest on a hill-top becomes probable. In fact, even if we dispense with the man Noah himself and with the details of the story of the filling of the ark and its wanderings, we cannot deny the fact that, at the very period referred to, there was a great inundation such as is described; that it affected a very large region, that life came to a standstill in that region, and that very likely those who escaped were those who took such measures of precaution as are described in Gen. vi. The historical setting of the narrative in Genesis thus appears to be correct. There seems, in fact, to be an actual historical background to the story—not the occasional or yearly floods caused by overflow of the rivers, but a great

flood that held the region in its throes for very many years.

The date of this great inundation in Babylonia is set down by excavators as about 3000 B.C. (or earlier), as evidenced by the civilisation brought to a stop by its arrival and by the civilisation above the alluvial deposit when habitation had been resumed.

The materials for this book are collected from my own work and studies in Palestine, and from every published account of the various sites that have been excavated by British, German, American, French, or other excavators.

It is my hope that the book may lead to the emphasising of the necessity for considering and studying the Bible records, not from the linguistic standpoint alone, but from the archæological and geographical standpoints as well.

I wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness to Dr. W. K. Lowther Clarke, of the S.P.C.K. House, for his valuable help in revising and rearranging the MS., correcting the proofs, as well as his helpful criticism in many other ways.

Some of the illustrations are from my own photos, but for many I am indebted to the Palestine Exploration Fund, Sir Flinders Petrie, and others, who have kindly allowed me to reproduce them.

J. G. D.

September, 1929.

REFERENCES ABRIDGED

H.B.D. = Hastings' Bible Dictionary.

P.E.F.Q.S. = Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.

INTRODUCTION.

The various books of the Old Testament in its present form are universally regarded as the work of redactors who had older documents before them from which they compiled the books as they stand. It may be also that these books contain a considerable background of tradition. It is, however, agreed that there is a background either of earlier written documents or of tradition, or both.

The close study of these narratives, as they stand now, has always left on my mind a deep impression of the accuracy of circumstantial detail, or local colouring, found in them; and this is strengthened by the light that is gradually being thrown on them by archæological discoveries.

Though some may still insist on regarding the various characters and incidents as unhistorical, I do not think it will be long possible, if it is even now possible, for us to deny the remarkable accuracy of detail in the narratives. Some of the incidents themselves, hitherto regarded as legend, have been proved to be historical by recent discovery.

The setting in which they are placed, the frame in which the incidents are exhibited, belongs, I think, undoubtedly, in very many at least of the incidents recorded, to the exact period to which they profess to belong. The original narrators were undeniably care-

ful and accurate in their historical setting. That a modern critic, who knows the problem both from the linguistic and the archæological sides, should say we have been accustomed to treat the narratives of the Patriarchal Age with altogether too much disdain, is significant, not only of the goal to which purely linguistic criticism leads us, but of the check which archæology is putting upon one-sided criticism.

I feel convinced that, if the most advanced linguistic critic of the Old Testament knew archæological results as well as he knows the component documents, his views would be considerably modified. In any case, no one can be a fair critic of any ancient document till he approaches it with all the knowledge that is available from every possible source—the geography, archæology, and language of the land.

The Old Testament is an essential handbook to the excavator in Palestine. Occasionally it throws light on his work that no amount of excavation could ever discover. The two throw mutual light on each other.

The writings of Josephus have been subjected to the same harsh criticism and duly discredited; yet I have frequently been compelled to acknowledge that, even where he was doubted, Josephus has proved right. Any document known to be 2,500 years nearer to the events described than we are is a document to be regarded with respect until we can discredit it beyond any possible doubt. In fact, we seriously cripple the work of investigation of past history if we begin by robbing ourselves of any document whatever which professes to deal with the period investigated at a date

so much nearer to the events than we now are—even if the document is known to have been written quite a millennium after the incidents.

I should go so far as to say that the scientific attitude to such documents is not to begin by discrediting them because of their antiquity, or with the assumption that they were written with more regard for some special purpose they were meant to serve or effect they were intended to produce, than for the truth; but to accept them as guides, so far as they are internally consistent, until we are able to discredit them, or to correct their authors' mistakes by archæological discovery.

If a writer is painstakingly careful to place the events of his narrative in the correct setting of the period to which they are reputed to belong, there is at least a presumption that his narrative may also otherwise be accurate in detail, if not even a presumption that the original narrative was contemporary with the events.

At the outset, I should like to try to dispel the mist of unreality with which distance of time is so apt to envelop the events of a period of which we have almost no knowledge from other sources.

The period with which the early narratives of the Old Testament deal is that known as the Second and Third Bronze Ages—roughly, 2000-1200 B.C. This period is rapidly being made historical for us by the excavator. The narratives of the Patriarchs of the Old Testament fall into this period. We know now—*e.g.*, that long before 2000 the Amorites were in full possession of Palestine, and that an Amorite Dynasty was probably ruling even over Babylonia. We know

also that before 2000 the Hittites swept down from the North-West of Syria and came into conflict with the Amorites in Palestine. In the Abraham narrative of Genesis, we find Hittites as far South as Hebron; a fact which there is no reason to doubt. There is a rapidly strengthening conviction that the Amorites, conquered by the Hittites, amalgamated with them; and that the Hyksos of the later period were probably the result of this amalgamation; or, alternatively, that what we call Hyksos influence in Palestine was really Hittite. We have now (1928) found Hyksos pottery in Palestine dating 2400 B.C.

The pottery of the period therefore seems to confirm this amalgamation. We know, too, that Jerusalem is upbraided by Ezekiel (xvi. 3, 45) on the ground that her father was an Amorite and her mother a Hittite; so that the Jebusites themselves, the early inhabitants of Jerusalem, were probably a mixture of Amorites and Hittites, having taken the name "Jebusites" from the name which they gave to their own city. They named it Jebus on account of its threshing-floor, which formed so prominent a feature of the landscape, being the first object visible to people approaching it. It afterwards became the site of Solomon's Temple.

There is nothing improbable, therefore, in the story of the migration of even a single family, such as Abraham's, from Babylonia. In fact, he may himself have been an Amorite; certainly he came into Palestine to find himself among friends.

We know, too, that the Amorites had built a large

series of strongholds in Palestine, on sites of prominence and importance, to insure their occupation. Such forts are Taanach, Megiddo, Gezer, Jerusalem, Gerar, Lachish, Jericho. On all these sites early walls, which belong undoubtedly to this period, have been unearthed. These walls have been dated, some of them prior to 2500, and some from about 2000 downwards. They are manifestly all the work of the same people, the immigrating Amorites, who displaced the aboriginal cave-dwellers in Palestine by 2000.

In the period to which the Patriarchal narratives belong, therefore, Palestine was being systematically governed by a people whose civilisation was of no mean order. The headquarters of the Amorites was Kadesh in the far North, and their various strongholds in Palestine were held by governors, or "kings" as they are styled in the Old Testament, who were responsible for the collection of revenue and for the ruling of the districts around them. The same régime continued after the arrival of the Hittites, and, in fact, the Hebrews followed their methods of government after they conquered the country.

The Canaanite civilisation displaced by the Hebrew was at its highest superior to that of every period of Hebrew history, except perhaps the period of Solomon.

As the Patriarchs were nomad flockmasters, their movements were naturally confined to the rural districts outside of cities. Hence the narratives have little or no occasion to refer to the systematic government or the civilisation of the Canaanite, except so far as rural life is depicted.

It was the same civilisation, crippled and demoralised by the incessant attacks of Egypt and by subjection to Egyptian governors, that Joshua faced on his arrival in Palestine. The Amorites and Hittites had held the country for over a thousand years before the Hebrews arrived.

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THE ACCURACY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

CHAPTER I

WRITING, DOCUMENTS, AND BOOKS

Excavation has not yet restored to us any of the original documents on which the books of the Old Testament as we have them are based, though we still hope that some day a rich treasure of ancient manuscripts will be discovered in Palestine. It is the dream of every excavator that he may find an inscription in Early Hebrew, but to find one of the original documents on which the Pentateuch, for instance, is based, would be a joy beyond words!

Our knowledge of these originals is therefore confined to what the Bible tells us of itself.

Writing.—In view of the voluminous written documents of early date recovered from Egypt and Mesopotamia, we start with a strong presumption that we shall find writing in vogue in Palestine. This is borne out by the evidence. The art of writing is not referred to in the narratives of the Patriarchal period, but in Exod. xxiv. 4, which is admitted to be an ancient document, and, again, in Deut. xxxi. 9 Moses is said to have written down the words of the Lord, and commanded the priests to read his written copy of the Law to the people. These passages deal with the

period of the Exodus, or about the thirteenth century B.C. The narrative (Exod. xxiv. 4, JE), as we have it, is admitted to date as early as the ninth century. Writing was therefore in use some time prior to 900 B.C.

Num. v. 23 speaks of the priest writing in a book with ink that could be washed off with water. The original narrative here would belong to the same period—the ninth century—but describes events of the thirteenth.

In Judg. v. 14 the professional scribe or public recorder has made his appearance: "They that handle the pen of the scribe." It is of no importance whether the Hebrew word here means "pen" or some other part of the writer's equipment. The passage, in any case, conveys the same information, and the period which it refers to is about 1200-1100 (*cf.* Jer. xvii. 1, Pen of iron).

In Jer. xxxvi. 23 the scribe's knife was apparently used to cut up the roll. Since the knife was used for erasure in writing upon skins, it has been thought that this passage indicates that leather was employed as a writing material. This passage, however, refers to an incident dating about 610 B.C. In this passage (verse 18) we find ink, book, and roll mentioned.

Thus, in the Old Testament itself as it stands, the practice of writing with ink in "a book" or on some material is supposed to have been in use from the thirteenth century.

"Books."—Special books or documents are mentioned as sources from which the narrative is drawn, or from which fuller information can be obtained.

"The Book of the Wars of the Lord" (Num. xxi. 14) seems to have been a contemporary record of the Hebrew conquest of Canaan.

"The Book of Yashar" seems to have been a similar record. Both seem to have been records, not merely of bare events, but of Jehovah's wonderful dealings with and guidance of this people, intended to strengthen their faith and confirm their allegiance to Him (Josh. x. 13; 2 Sam. i. 18).

"The Book of the Constitution" of the kingdom was written by Samuel (1 Sam. x. 25) and laid up "before the Lord."

Throughout the period of the kings of both Judah and Israel, from 1000 to 600, a record of the "acts" of the king was regularly kept. No mention is made of this in the case of Saul; but according to 1 Chron. xxix. 29 the "acts of David" were recorded in the Book of Samuel the Prophet, the Book of Nathan the Prophet, and the Book of Gad the Seer.

There was a "Book of the Acts of Solomon" (1 Kings xi. 41), evidently a special record dealing with his reign. We are not surprised at this, for his reign was the Golden Age of Israel, and no king before or after him accomplished so much; but according to 2 Chron. ix. 29 the ordinary record of his reign was also kept in the Book of Nathan the Prophet, in the prophecy of Ahiyah the Shilonite, and in the Visions of Iddo the Seer.

Similarly, the record of Rehoboam is found (2 Chron. xii. 15) in the words of Shemaiah the Prophet, and of Iddo the Seer, concerning genealogies.

The Book of Jehu, son of Hanani, records the Acts of Jehoshaphat, about 850 B.C. (2 Chron. xx. 34).

Thereafter, the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel, and the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, are referred to for fuller information about the reigns of the various kings than is given in the narratives as we have them. This implies naturally that all these national records were used by the editor who drew up the record as found in the Old Testament.

"The Books of the Law" (2 Kings xxii. 8; Deut. xxxi. 26), "The Book of the Records of the Fathers" —*i.e.*, genealogies (Ezra iv. 15), and "The Book of Remembrance" (Mal. iii. 16), if this is to be taken literally, are other instances. By the period of the writer of Ecclesiastes the practice of book-writing had increased so much as to become a nuisance, for he says: "Of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh" (Eccles. xii. 12).

THE PROPHET AS RECORDER.—From the records mentioned it is quite clear that from the time of Samuel, throughout the whole period of the kings (about 1100-600 B.C.), it was the duty of the prophet to act as national recorder or historian. Even Isaiah performed this duty (see 2 Chron. xxvi. 22): "The rest of the acts of Uzziah, first and last, did Isaiah the Prophet, son of Amoz, write." That Isaiah kept a similar record of the acts of Hezekiah is proved by the passage Isa. xxii. 8-11.

This passage, in fact, appears to be an exact quotation from that record, and gives us some idea of the

style in which the original document was written. It is, perhaps, one of the longest quotations which we possess from any of the original documents.

Though Hezekiah's name is not mentioned, the reference in verse 9 to the gathering of the waters of the lower pool is generally understood to refer to the Siloam tunnel made by Hezekiah about 720.

Materials Used.—The earliest ink used was probably the same dark colouring matter as was used in decoration of Canaanite pottery, especially that of the latest Bronze Age (1600-1200). This may have been a mixture of the brown ochre, so commonly used, with soot, and it would have been very easily washed off. A mixture of soot and gum and the juice discharged by the cuttle-fish are other suggestions, but the first suggestion is the most probable, judging from the Hebrew writing on potsherds which I have examined.

The material used was stone. Moses is said to have engraved the Ten Commandments on stone, and he bade the Israelites to erect twelve pillars on Mount Ebal, after entering Canaan, cover them with plaster, and write the law upon the plaster. If this method was commonly adopted we cannot expect to find many inscribed steles in Palestine. The plaster could not resist centuries of exposure to the climate, even if the ink endured.

If papyrus were used, it would long ago have perished in the damp climate, unless it were stored in sealed jars and inside a dry rock-chamber.

Jer. xxxvi. 23 is regarded as suggesting the use of skins, which is quite likely in this period.

Potsherds were also used, as we know from excavation, but they are not referred to in the Old Testament.

Such is the information which we can glean from the Old Testament narrative itself.

Results of Excavation.—Turning now to archæological evidence, we find that by 1400 B.C. writing was regularly used in official communications between the Eighteenth Dynasty kings of Egypt and their governors in the various towns of Palestine and Syria. Curiously enough the language and script used was the Babylonian cuneiform written on clay tablets.

No explanation has been discovered as yet of how cuneiform came to be the official language in Palestine, and to be known in Egypt as well at this time; but while it was used officially in these letters it is most improbable that ordinary people or even educated people were generally able to read or write it. Whether any documents of the Israelites were ever written in cuneiform has yet to be discovered.

1. The next stage in our knowledge of the use of writing in Palestine is marked by the discovery of the sarcophagus of Akhiram at Byblos. On this sarcophagus there is an inscription written in the Phœnician or Early Hebrew characters and in Hebrew language. This inscription cannot date later than 1200. We may say, therefore, with certainty, that Hebrew writing was in use in Syria and, by inference, in Palestine, to some extent before 1200 B.C. or about the time of the arrival of the Hebrews in Palestine.

Between 1300 and 1200, therefore, cuneiform was re-

placed by early Phœnician writing, unless they continued side by side.

2. About 900 we find Mesha, King of Moab, recording his victories by an inscription on stone, in the same writing and language.

3. About 725 the well-known Siloam inscription, recording the manner of cutting the Siloam tunnel, was carved on the side of the tunnel. This is the earliest Hebrew inscription written by a Hebrew that we possess.

Early Hebrew Cursive Writing.—In these three Phœnician or Early Hebrew inscriptions the writing is in the square characters used generally on stone.

The cursive or quick business-style of handwriting is a later development. The necessity for speed led to the alteration of the form of many letters.

Ostraca.—Examples of cursive Hebrew writing have been found in recent times in the forms of notes and accounts jotted down rapidly on potsherds.

A large number of these ostraca were found at Samaria, which show the gradual change from the square character. These date prior to or about 700. The writing on the ostracon which I found on Ophel shows a further development of the cursive and dates somewhat later (Fig. 31).

Summarising these facts, we may say that by 1200 Hebrew writing in the Phœnician square characters was quite familiar, and by 700 cursive Hebrew handwriting was practised by men in their daily business.

The question now arises: Are the writers of Exodus or Numbers guilty of an anachronism when they speak

of writing on stone or in a book with ink, or on plaster laid upon stone, as being actual facts in the period with which the narrative deals?

As we saw, the earliest period at which the Old Testament assumes the existence of writing is the period after the Exodus or somewhere between 1300 and 1200 B.C.

In the light of recent discoveries we must admit that the historical implication of the narratives is absolutely correct. Writing, even in the early Hebrew characters, was known and practised in Palestine at that period. Even if we regard the final edition of these books as much later, we are compelled to admit that the historical setting is true; and this leads to the presumption that the original documents on which Exodus and Numbers are based were probably contemporary with the events recorded.

When the writer of Numbers or of Joshua refers to the "Book of the Wars of the Lord" or the "Book of Yashar" as documents from which he has drawn information, there is no strain on our credulity if we accept these documents as records kept at the time of the events.

Similarly, in the period of the Judges, about 1200-1050, there is no reason why Samuel should not have written the "Constitution of the Kingdom" in a book, or, in fact, why the Judges preceding him should not have had their acts written down for them at the time, just as David, Solomon, and the later kings of Jerusalem and Samaria say that the Prophets kept records of the chief events of their reigns.

REED HUTS AT NIMRIN. OPP. JERICHO AND ACROSS JORDAN.

REED HUT VILLAGE. NEAR UR IN BABYLONIA.

facing p. 26.

BABYLONIAN BRICKS 3800 B.C. FROM NIPPUR, BABYLONIA.

facing p. 27.

CHAPTER II

BABYLONIA

(*a*) The Flood

During the winter of 1928-29 excavators at Ur in Babylonia came upon a stratum of alluvial deposit making a clear break in the succession of civilisations occupying the site. This stratum of alluvial mud is too deep to be explained by anything except a flood of great extent and considerable duration. The period to which it belongs, so far as details have been published, appears to be about 3000 B.C. or earlier.

From other recent reports it would seem that this flood was not merely local, but covered a large area of Babylonia, part of which lay under water for a long period.

It appears, therefore, that the story of a great flood destroying the civilisation and the people of its period found on Babylonian tablets and in the Old Testament (Gen. vi.) is not pure legend, as has commonly been supposed, but actual history.

This stratum of alluvial deposit, which had much the same effect as the sudden irruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79 had on Pompeii and Herculaneum, bringing all life and civilisation to a sudden stop, appears to be the actual historical background of the narrative found in these tablets and in the Old Testament.

(*b*) The Tower and the City—Babel

And they said one to another, Go to, let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for morter.

And they said, Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven. . . .

And they left off to build the city.—Gen. xi. 3, 4, 8.

The passage refers to Babylonia, or the land of the Chaldeans, as it is named in the Old Testament. There are no stones in this land, nor any rock quarries within hundreds of miles of it. Its soil is all alluvial deposit, mud thrown up and left lying by the two rivers which had brought it down from the highlands when in flood. If you search for even a pebble, as I have often done, you could not find one. The people, therefore, had no stone to build houses with, unless they brought it from the North-West. Yet they built great cities.

As the Bible says, they made bricks and baked them through and through in fire. The soil is pure mud of a very adhesive nature. All they had to do was to mix it with water, pour it into moulds, leave it to dry in the blazing sun for a few days, or bake the bricks in a mud-built oven. For mortar they used bitumen. The Old Testament is therefore circumstantially correct in its detail here. "They had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar." Many examples of brick buildings with bitumen for mortar have been found in excavations. The bricks used can be recognised wherever they are found all over the East. They

measure over twenty inches long, twelve inches broad, and four inches thick, and often every brick in a building was stamped with the name of the king who reigned when the building was erected. Thus at Nippur, which stands quite near to Abraham's town, Ur of the Chaldees, we found bricks with the name of King Naram Sin, who reigned about 3800 B.C. Bricks of similar shape and size were found at Lachish, Jericho, Megiddo, and in the winter of 1926-27 in the excavations of Gerar by Sir Flinders Petrie. These were twenty-two by twelve by four inches thick. With these bricks cities were built, and in every city of importance a temple-tower was raised, called in Assyrian a ziggurat.

This tower is of a peculiar type. It is built of solid brick, standing on a broad base and narrowing as it ascends. It consists of seven stages or platforms connected by a gradually ascending pathway. No complete tower has been found standing as it was originally built, but it always ended in a flat platform at the top, often doubtless rising to a great height. The flat platform at the top gives it the appearance of a tower, the building of which was suspended before completion. There is no stair inside the tower, as we should make it. The ascent is by a smooth, sloping pathway without steps, which runs round and round the outside of the tower, steadily ascending till it reaches the top. The seven stages are said to represent the seven spheres of heaven. Some think the tower was a sort of observatory for the study of the heavenly bodies. Others think it was connected with religion; and, as

the Babylonians were worshippers of the sun, this is very likely. In times when the river floods rose very high and imperilled their property, these towers may have served as a place of refuge for the people till the floods subsided.

The writer of Genesis xi., therefore, knew about these early Mesopotamian people, whom he calls Chaldees; and he must have seen one of these temple-towers or ziggurats, which look so like a tower abandoned in the course of erection.

It is very likely that the ziggurat of the town of Babel, or Babylon, is the very tower which he had in his mind when he wrote.

The river floods, against which the people took precautions by raising their cities above the flood-level, must not be regarded as disasters. The ordinary floods were the yearly means of irrigating the soil, and the people depended on them for their crops. They take the place of the rainfall in other countries, just as Egypt depends on the annual rise of the Nile. Occasionally, however, the floods rose so high as to be disastrous, and to do damage to life and property. The "Chaldees" have a legend of a great and disastrous flood, which is not unlike the account of the great Flood recorded in Genesis. This legend, the historical basis of which has been proved, shows that, occasionally at least, it was necessary to have a sure means of retreat from the steadily rising waters.

I travelled up the Tigris by steamer at Christmas, 1895, when the country was flooded. This happened to be an exceptionally heavy flood. I could see the

wild pigs scurrying for the parts that still lay above water. Some of them attempted to swim to the north side of the Tigris. At one point we passed a small village completely thrown down by the water, except for one house-wall which still stood several feet above the water-level. On the top of this wall was perched an Arab, perfectly composed and almost indifferent. His faith told him that, if it was Kismet that he should be drowned, nothing that he could do could save him. When we reached Baghdad, we found the people working day and night, heightening the earth rampart round the city which keeps the flood back. There is no ziggurat in the modern town, but the people still have to be prepared for floods that rise far above the average flood-level.

The circumstantial accuracy of the Old Testament description is thus confirmed, and we are now in possession of the following facts:

1. The original writer was accustomed to stone as the usual building material in his own country.

2. He contrasts this with Babylonia where they used burned brick for stone.

3. In place of the mortar used in his own country, which was really mud-mortar, they used bitumen in Babylonia.

4. He tells of the building of a tower of refuge from future floods in verse 4—a tower which the people raised to a certain height and then suddenly left off building.

On all these points the narrative is correct, and confirmed by excavation; and the writer in Genesis seems

to be of opinion that the purpose for which these ziggurat towers were built was to be a refuge from future floods.

The interest of this passage is further enhanced by the fact that bricks of the same shape and size as the "Chaldean" (measuring twenty-two by twelve by four inches) have been found in the earliest fortification walls of Jericho, Megiddo, Lachish, and Gerar, which certainly date earlier than 2000 B.C., having been built by the Amorites. The Amorites had imitated the Babylonians in their building methods, but they used mud for mortar as bitumen was not procurable in Palestine.

In all the earliest Amorite fortification walls in Palestine, bricks, usually sun-dried, were used, except at places like Jerusalem where soft limestone, easily quarried, was procurable.

In these forts, too, while the earliest walls are entirely of brick, later walls are either of stone and bricks alternating or entirely of stone. The third wall of Jericho, built about 2000-1800, is partly of stone and partly of brick. By 1400, perhaps, stone came to be the usual material employed in Palestine, and in the early Hebrew period stone was used almost exclusively.

The writer of Genesis had therefore probably lived at Jerusalem, where stone has been the usual building material from the earliest period of its existence; or he wrote at a time when brick had entirely given place to stone.

The original document, on which our Book of Genesis is based, may thus date as early as 1200, so

far as its archæological content is concerned, and our knowledge of early writing is in no way inconsistent with this possibility.

As a document it speaks with accurate knowledge of the period to which it is supposed to refer, somewhere in the third millennium B.C.

The inundation left a deposit of alluvial mud eight feet deep. In a rubbish heap above this mud were found the fine tombs of Ur, with their contents of beautiful gold work. Beneath the mud was found an earlier civilisation, showing burnt bricks of a size and shape unknown hitherto.

This earlier civilisation belongs to the third millennium B.C. and had been destroyed by the great inundation. A period of several centuries had elapsed between the earlier civilisation under the mud and the later occupation above it, so that the chronology would fit in well with the narrative in Genesis.

The depth of eight feet accumulation of mud points to the flood having covered the surface of the ground for a long period, which again is confirmed by the lapse of years between the two civilisations. The story of Noah, therefore, assumes a new aspect.

CHAPTER III

THE PEOPLES OF PALESTINE

The pre-conquest inhabitants of Palestine were known by the generic name of Canaanites; the outstanding peoples mentioned in the Old Testament are the Amorites and the Hittites. The other "peoples" mentioned seem to have been branches of these two. Excavation has confirmed this supposition, and has shown that the Amorites and the Hittites represent two civilisations which swept southwards into Palestine at an early date.

The Amorites came from the North-East and were manifestly familiar with Babylonian civilisation, as is shown both by their building materials and their religion. It has even been suggested that the First Dynasty of Babylon, about 2179-1870 B.C., was composed of Amorite kings. If so, the Amorites must have pursued their conquests both eastwards and southwards. The history of their movements is further complicated by the fact that pottery of the same type as the earliest Amorite ware has been found at Nagada and elsewhere in Upper Egypt, and this pottery in Egypt has been assigned to as early a date as 5000 to 4000. This class of ware has been found nowhere else but in Upper Egypt and in Palestine. In Palestine it is assigned to a period prior to 2000.

There is no doubt, then, that the Amorites were in

Palestine by 2000, but how long before that date is not definitely fixed. They may have been there as early as or before 4000, and, if they are the same people whose civilisation has been found at Nagada, they must have passed through Palestine on their way to Egypt.

One thing is certain. On their arrival in Palestine they found the country occupied by cave-dwellers, the products of whose crude civilisation are always found side by side with theirs. The cave-dweller civilisation goes back to the remotest antiquity. No dates can be suggested for it. All that we know is that by about 2000, or soon after, the cave-dweller civilisation has practically disappeared and become merged in that of the Amorites, who dwelt in houses and built strongly fortified towns.

As early as 3800* Canaan is described as the "Land of the Amurru" (Amorites) on an inscription of Sargon I. of Accad.

About 2200 the name "Amorite" on Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions signifies "the West," which seems to imply that the Amorites then held practically all the land west of Babylonia, including Palestine.

The excavation of Boghaz-Keui, the ancient capital of the Hittites, in the modern province of Angora (ancient Cappadocia) revealed a collection of cuneiform tablets, partly in Babylonian and partly in the native language. These proved to be correspondence between the Hittite kings and those of Egypt and other nations,

* See Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible,* art. "Amorites" (Sayce).

and indicate that the Hittites, too, were familiar with Babylonian civilisation.

The Hittites began to move southwards from Cappadocia about 2000, if not before. By 2000-1800 they conquered the Amorites, seized their chief town, Kadesh, in the North, and apparently captured all their forts in Palestine. From this time onwards the Amorites and Hittites in Palestine seem to have formed a sort of amalgamation, the two nations merging in one and each influencing the other.

The influence of the Hittites shows itself in methods of fortification; and the so-called Hyksos pottery so characteristic of the period 2000-1600 in Palestine was probably brought by them. There is little doubt that, while the Hittites knew the Babylonian civilisation, they were even more deeply influenced by the Cretan.

The period 2000-1600 shows unmistakable traces of the influence of the Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings, of Egypt, who reigned in North Egypt from about 2180 to 1600.

When we excavated the site of Leontopolis (Shibin-el-Kanatir) in North Egypt, we found that the fort close to Tell-el-Yahudiyeh, "the Mound of the Jewish Lady," was the ruins of a Hyksos fort, probably Avaris. There the glacis fortification is exactly the same as that found in the Hittite ramparts in Palestine. The pottery also included many types such as are found in Palestine, of the period 2000-1600, and usually described as Hyksos pottery.

There is no doubt that the Hyksos of Egypt are the

same people as the Hittites, or a people closely allied to them. They were probably the Amorites and Hittites amalgamated. Instead of the Hyksos emigrating from Egypt to Palestine, or occupying it in that period, the amalgamated Amorites and Hittites seem rather to have moved southwards from Canaan and conquered Northern Egypt, holding it for some 400 or 500 years, which explains the Semitic origin of the later Hyksos kings. The amalgamation thus resulted in further conquest.

This would also explain the tradition, recorded by Manetho, that the Hyksos, when driven out of Egypt, went to Palestine and built Jerusalem to be their stronghold. They were returning naturally to a country which they had held all along.

The amalgamation of the Amorites and Hittites is strengthened by the tradition mentioned by Ezekiel (xvi. 3) that Jerusalem was founded by the Amorites and Hittites combined. Ezekiel says: "Thy father was an Amorite and thy mother a Hittite," implying that Jerusalem had inherited the idolatrous tendencies of both peoples.

Excavation has shown, however, that Jerusalem was founded not in 1600, as Manetho says, but certainly as early as 2000, or at least 400 years before the Hyksos were driven out of Egypt. The Hyksos, or "Amorite-Hittites," will, therefore, have returned to Jerusalem, when driven out of Egypt, and have proceeded to fortify it further against the attacks of their conquerors, the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt. In any case, from that time (1600) the Egyptian kings

made war on Palestine. Thothmes III. tells of his conquests, and Rameses II. of the Nineteenth Dynasty has recorded his own great exploits in Canaan on the walls of his temple at Luxor. From 1587 down to 1300, or thereabout, Egypt was dominant in Palestine; and the Tell-el-Amarna letters show that they had governors in all the important towns, including Jerusalem. The Amorite-Hittites, therefore, were unable to hold Jerusalem against the Egyptians.

It was probably this conquest and the incessant warfare of the Egyptians of the Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasties that utterly broke down the morale of the Canaanites, and prepared the way for their conquest by the returning Hebrews at a time when the Egyptian power in Palestine had been destroyed by the bad government of Akhenaten of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Otherwise, one can hardly understand how so great a civilisation as the Amorite-Hittite could have fallen a prey to the Hebrews, whose civilisation was at that time inferior.

The Old Testament narratives of the Patriarchs belong to this period (2000-1600), in the first half of which Abraham found the Hittites in occupation of Hebron.

The Hittites seem to have retained possession of Northern Syria for many centuries. Thothmes III. mentions them in the North in an inscription dated about 1470. At that period they were in possession of the country from the Lebanon to the Euphrates. This region may be "the greater land of the Hittites," and Palestine "the lesser land of the Hittites," two descrip-

tions which occur in the inscription of Thothmes III. In Joshua's time (thirteenth century, see Josh. i. 4) they still occupied the region from the Lebanon to the Euphrates, as well as the hill country of Palestine, which they held in conjunction with the Amorites and Jebusites. We have already seen that the Jebusites of Jerusalem were descendants of the amalgamated Amorites and Hittites. In the period of the Judges (Judg. i. 26), the Hittites are found still occupying Southern Palestine. In the time of Saul, David, and Solomon (1100-950) they are spoken of as tributaries of Israel.

That the Hittites of the North did not willingly submit to a foreign suzerainty is shown by an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I. (about 1120), in which they are the ringleaders in rebellion. The Tell-el-Amarna letters bear this out. At times they paid tribute to the Egyptian kings, but they were continually in a state of insurrection.

Traces of Hittite civilisation and conquest have been found all over the region from the Lebanon to the Euphrates. Carchemish was an ancient capital of theirs. Later, they held Kadesh of the Amorites. Their monuments have been found even at Babylon, though there is nothing yet known to explain how they came to be there.

Though we possess bilingual inscriptions in Hittite and Babylonian, they are all too short to be of service in reading purely Hittite inscriptions. Some progress has been made in deciphering the Hittite languages, and probably many of the foreign words in Hebrew

which puzzle us, such as *millo, tsinnor, dayyeq* came from the Hittite language, as we now know *pharash* (horse) and *barzel* (iron) to have come.

From the Old Testament narrative it appears as if the Hittites, after conquering the Amorites, at first occupied the forts, while the Amorites held the rural districts. Thus Abraham (Gen. xxiii. 3; xxv. 10) found the Hittites in Hebron, but his Amorite friends came apparently from the Plain of Mamre (Gen. xiv. 13).

In Num. xiii. 29 and Josh. xii. 8 the Amorites, Hittites, and Jebusites are described as occupying the hill country or central portion of Palestine; while those dwelling by the coast of the Mediterranean or in the Jordan Valley are described simply as "Canaanite." We cannot explain the distinction, but there is no doubt as to the historical accuracy of the first description.

Jericho was fortified and held by the Amorites. It seems to have been captured also by the Hittites, who afterwards refortified it. Ai, too, was an Amorite stronghold; also Bethshan, which was not far from the Jordan Valley. In the Shephelah district, the low country on the West by the sea, no trace of their civilisation has yet been found except at Gezer, Lachish, Bethshemesh, Gerar, and Beth-Pelet.

It is significant that the Amorites and Hittites are thus always associated together in these narratives. This seems to confirm the theory of the amalgamation of the two peoples in Palestine. The Hittites are never mentioned as opposing the Hebrew invasion, Amorites or Canaanites being always the term used; but in the

promises of Exod. iii. 8, 17; xiii. 5, and many other passages, the Amorites, Hittites, and Jebusites are constantly associated. These were undoubtedly the prominent peoples in Palestine at that time, though in the Old Testament Amorites is often the term used even when the word must refer to Canaanites in general. For instance, in 1 Sam. vii. 14 we read: "And there was peace between Israel and the Amorites," as if the main conflict had been with them alone.

No Hittite "king" is specially mentioned as such in the Old Testament, though Jabin and Jobab (Josh. ii. 1) of the Merom battle were probably Hittite "kings." Hittite "kings" or governors, are referred to in a general way in Josh. ix. 1, and the list of "kings" given in Josh. xii. 9-24 must include several who were Hittites. The passage Josh. xii. 8 seems to imply that the Amorites, Hittites, Hivites, Jebusites, Perizzites were all parts of one amalgamated people, and perhaps the term "Canaanites" in that verse is meant to apply to them all alike.

In Num. xxi. 21-30, however, two "kings" of the Amorites ruling in Transjordania are specially mentioned, Sihon of Heshbon and Og of Bashan, and in Josh. xxiv. 12 the conquest of these two is given as one of the proofs of Jehovah's presence with Israel. Sihon and Og were probably not independent "kings," but governors of their particular districts, appointed by the Amorites, or Amorites and Hittites amalgamated, in the West.

On the other hand, it is possible that the Amorites had been broken up completely by the Egyptian in-

vasions in the West, and that their power was stronger and better organised in Transjordania, whither the Egyptians had not pursued them.

It seems, therefore, that in such passages the use of the term "Amorites" does not imply that the Hittites have disappeared, for their presence is constantly affirmed, but that the word "Amorites" is occasionally used as a general term, almost equivalent to "Canaanites," and includes Hittites.

It is remarkable that to the invading Hebrew the Amorite seems to have been the predominant race in Palestine, while to the Assyrians of that period the Hittites appeared predominant in the West, for they used the term "Land of the Hittites" as a synonym for "the West." Probably both are right and the Hittites had by this time largely retired before the Egyptian invasions to their own possessions in Northern Syria. This agrees with the statement in Joshua, that the land of the Hittites extended in his time from Lebanon to the Euphrates.

In the time of David Hittites were serving as officers in David's army, as 1 Sam. xxvi. 6 (Ahimelech, the Hittite) and 2 Sam. xi. 3 (Uriah, the Hittite) show, and in Solomon's time Hittites paid tribute to Solomon in the form of bond-service in his levies for public works (1 Kings ix. 20-21).

So far as Palestine is concerned, therefore, the prestige of the Hittites and the Amorites, who had held sway over a large section of the Near East from before 2000 down to 1100, was completely eclipsed by the glory of the reign of Solomon, which was in every respect the

Golden Age of Israel. The Hebrews raised their Empire, which in David and Solomon's time extended from the Euphrates to the Red Sea, on the ruins of the Hittite and the Amorite civilisations. Probably no nation ever rose so quickly to political power and prominence, and certainly no nation ever sank so rapidly. With Rehoboam came the disintegration of Empire and the end of the political glory of the Hebrew nation.

The Perizzites, so frequently mentioned with the Amorites and Hittites, are now explained as being the metal workers of the Hittites. The word for "iron" in Hittite is *parzi-ili* and the Hebrews adopted it in the form *barzel*.

Khatti, meaning "silver-men," is the name given to the Hittites on account of their silver mines in Cappadocia and their working in silver, the word *ḳhatim* meaning "silver."

The Hivites, or Akhæans, the Hittite Akhkhiyawa, are another branch of the same people.*

* See Sayce, *Antiquity,* June, 1928, p. 227.

CHAPTER IV

ABRAHAM AND ISAAC AT GERAR

THERE is nothing unusual or impossible in the story of Abraham's going to Egypt (Gen. xii. 10-20). According to Biblical chronology, the date of Abraham's arrival in Canaan was sometime between 2000 and 1600, the period of the Hyksos rule in Egypt, which is called in Palestine the Middle Bronze Age. As we have seen, the Hyksos had migrated from Palestine and ruled Northern Egypt; they were probably an amalgamation of Hittites and Amorites. So when Abraham arrived in Canaan the same people were occupying the land as were ruling over Northern Egypt. Abraham himself came from Haran, which at that time was under either Amorite or Hittite dominion. In other words, Abraham belonged to these people himself, or was closely connected with them. There is nothing surprising, therefore, in his going to the Delta for corn and pasture during a famine.

The details of the story are far more intelligible when we realise this fact. A purely Egyptian king would not probably have thought of taking Sarah to wife; but a Semitic king, who had migrated recently to Egypt from Northern Syria or Canaan, might well have contemplated such a step. To show how probable the journey is, there is abundant evidence of a close intercourse, commercial and political, between

Egypt and Canaan, from at least 2000, if not much earlier. That Hagar, an Egyptian girl, returned to Canaan as maid to Sarah (Gen. xvi. 3); that Hagar afterwards found an Egyptian wife for her son Ishmael (Gen. xxi. 21); and that Phi-col, Abimelech's captain of the host at Gerar, seems also to have been an Egyptian, as his name indicates (Phi-col is the well-known Egyptian name Pa-Khal, meaning "the Syrian"), all point to a close intercourse between the two countries, which is confirmed by our knowledge from other sources. It is therefore quite possible historically that Abraham was amicably received at the court of the Hyksos ruler of Northern Egypt, and was allowed to wander to and fro in Hyksos Syria and Egypt at his will.*

Shortage of grain, straw, and grass in Palestine, causing famine, has always been a common occurrence. Famines were equally common in Egypt itself, and were usually recorded. It was the natural thing for the people of Canaan to go down to Egypt in time of famine when they heard there was corn in Egypt; but the transference of flocks over the desert of Sinai, or from Gaza to the Delta, could be accomplished only in the spring season when the verdure was at its best. As early as 2714 Amenemha, the Egyptian king, records the measures he took to feed his people during a famine caused by the failure of the Nile to rise high enough to inundate the fields. There are no records of Palestinian famines other than those recorded in the Old Testament.

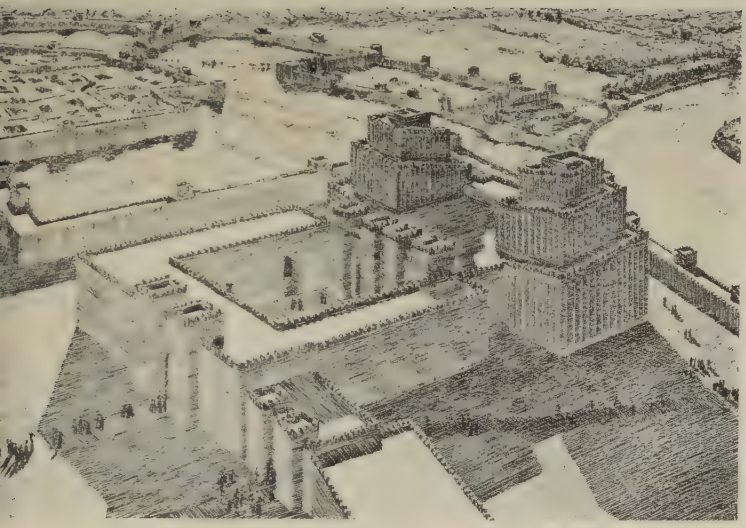
* Petrie, *Egypt and Israel*, p. 20.

Gen. xx. and xxvi. record a very similar experience, differing only in detail in the life of Abraham and his son Isaac. In his first experience of famine, recorded in Gen. xii., Abraham goes to Egypt. In his second experience (chap. xx.) he goes only as far as Gerar, where he finds abundant grain and fodder. Some years later, Isaac has to face a famine, and the writer in chap. xxvi. takes pains to show that now there is no need to go to Egypt. Isaac purposes to go there, but the Lord guides him to Gerar, where he, too, finds abundance (xxvi. 2).

Because of the similarity of the record in both chapters, and the fact that Abimelech is King of Gerar on both occasions, there has been a tendency to regard chap. xxvi. as simply a duplicate of chap. xx., with the substitution of Isaac's name and a few different details. The narrator himself was aware of this possibility, for in verse 1 he specially mentions that the narrative in chap. xxvi. refers to a later famine, thus guarding against the possible mistake.

What strikes us as very interesting in these chapters is the fact that on his first arrival in Canaan Abraham seeks provender in Egypt. Some years afterwards, however, he finds it unnecessary to go to Egypt, and sojourns at Gerar. Later still, Isaac has it in mind to go to Egypt (Gen. xxvi. 2-5), but he is instructed to go to Gerar. In chap xxvi. the writer obviously draws special attention to the fact that Canaan has now grain-stores of its own.

In other words, the narrative seems here to imply that, in the course of the first half-century of Abraham's

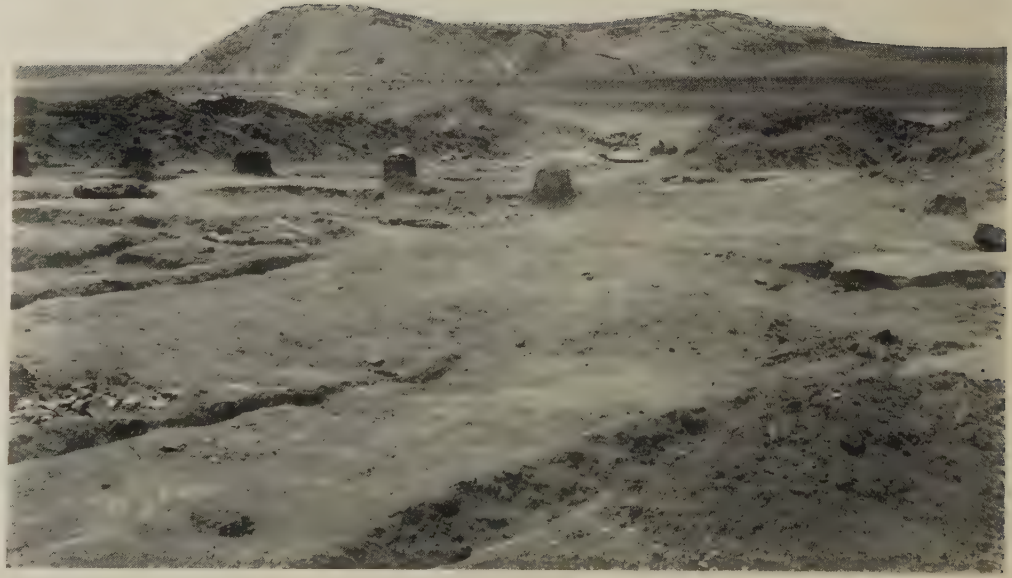


RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE OF ANU-ADAD AT NIPPUR.
BUILT BY SHALMANEZER II. (860-825).

AN ARAB ZIGGURAT.

A MEDIAEVAL MS. REPRESENTATION OF THE TOWER OF BABEL.

facing p. 46.



THE MOUND OF GERAR. NORTH TO SOUTH.

facing p. 47.

ife in Canaan, it has become unnecessary to go to Egypt for grain; and the reason is that there is now at least one great grain-growing centre in Palestine—namely, Gerar. Now, Sir Flinders Petrie in his excavation of Gerar found a great number of flint and iron sickles for reaping, as well as granaries for storing grain, showing that the cultivation of grain was the one great industry of the place. Of these flint-sickles a great many (and these are the earliest found) belong to the Hyksos period, or about 2000-1800, which is exactly the period referred to in these chapters of Genesis. The information thus indirectly given by the Old Testament has been corroborated by excavation. We now know that Gerar was one of a few great grain-growing centres, superintended and owned by the Philistines, who exported the grain to their own home country, which was either Crete or some part of Southern Asia Minor; and Gerar itself is proved to have been a flourishing town by 2000 or even earlier.

Abimelech's Palace and Isaac's Tent

Another interesting point in the narrative of Gen. xxvi. 8 may here be alluded to. It is stated that Abimelech looked out at a window of his palace and saw Isaac sporting with his wife, Rebekah, and knew then that she was not Isaac's sister, but his wife.

The palace of the commissioner at Gerar stood on the north-west corner of the mound, and looked right down on the very spot where to-day Bedaween invariably pitch their tents. It is the only good camping-ground near the mound, and has been the usual

camping-ground from time immemorial. Isaac, as a nomad, must have camped on it. The tents face south. And now we can understand that, if Isaac pitched his tent on that, the best camping-ground near the mound, the north window of Abimelech's palace would look right down into the door of Isaac's tent. The "palace" was probably a plain building of sun-dried mud bricks with no architectural pretensions.

It is now pretty generally accepted that the Philistines were Cretans, or subjects of the Cretan king. In every site excavated, where we are justified in expecting to find traces of Philistine occupation, Cretan ware and other traces of Cretan civilisation are invariably found. This is true, for instance, of Bethshemesh, which we know was occupied by the Philistines, and also of Bethshan, which was held by them after the Battle of Gilboa (1 Sam. xxxi. 10) in the eleventh century, as well as Gerar and Beth-Pelet (Tell Fara).

They were certainly immigrants into Palestine, and came there for the purpose of growing grain and storing it for exportation. They, therefore, had no interest in the hill country occupied by the Amorites and Hebrews. Their main interest centred in the Western maritime plain, the Southern plains, and the Plain of Esdraelon. Their one aim seems to have been to occupy the best farming land in the country. The town or fort of Gath was the scene of endless warfare between Israel and the Philistines, because it was a border fort and commanded the entrance to the territories of both. In the campaign of the Philistines against Saul at Gilboa (1 Sam. xxxi. 1) their ultimate

object was probably to secure the possession of the Plain of Esdraelon.

They were farmers, sheep-masters, and cattle-owners. It was natural, therefore, that they should not encourage nomad flock-masters to sojourn too long or settle as farmers in their vicinity; and quarrels among the shepherds are not surprising. They were probably fostered by the Philistines, as appears in the Old Testament narrative. When we turn to the disputes arising over the possession of the wells, or cisterns, between the shepherds of Abimelech and those of Isaac, the whole narrative bears the stamp of truth and such accurate local colouring as leaves no doubt in our minds that it is a narrative of actual events. Abimelech and his people did not want Isaac and his flocks there. His presence limited their output, and the most natural pretext for a quarrel was a well or cistern. In fact, the "Philistines," or "Cretans," were so persistent about it that at last Isaac found it expedient to depart, which was exactly what Abimelech wanted.

That at a later date Jacob had to send for corn to Egypt need not cause surprise. According to Gen. xli. 56, this famine affected the whole of Egypt and Palestine, "was over all the face of the earth," so that even at Gerar the crops had failed.

"King" in the O.T.

The title "king" in the Old Testament is misleading and apt to leave the impression that the country was then divided into a number of small independent

sovereignties continually making alliances or at war with one another. As a matter of fact, the Amorites, when they occupied Palestine, built a series of forts and governed the country systematically. When the Hittites arrived on the scene, the same system appears to have been continued. A governor was placed in each fort or town, who was held responsible for the security of the district around as well as for the collecting of revenue. These governors of the Amorites, or Hittite-Amorites combined, are described as "kings" in the Old Testament. Thus the "kings" of Jerusalem, Sodom, Gomorrah, Gerar, Gezer, and other towns mentioned in the early narratives are really only governors or commissioners appointed by their "Hyksos" or Amorite rulers. The same system of government may be noted in the Tell-el-Amarna letters as practised by Egypt, and there is no doubt that the kings of Israel and Judah employed the same method of government and collection of revenue.* They had officials in all the prominent towns, who were responsible to the king at Jerusalem or Samaria.

Thus Abimelech, though he is described as "King," or "Sheikh," of Gerar, was not really a king, but a commissioner under his own sovereign. The name itself shows this. It means "The King is my Father," and seems to have been the Hebrew translation of the name, or the name itself, given to the king's representative, who was sent to Palestine to secure good land, farm it, build granaries, and store grain for exportation to a barren, rocky country like Crete, which could not grow enough food for its own people.

* See 1 Kings iv. 7-19, Solomon's twelve officers.

CHAPTER V

WELLS AND CISTERNS

GEN. xxi. 25 speaks of a well of water violently taken by Abimelech's men from Abraham's servants. Gen. xxvi. 18 says Isaac cleared the wells digged in the days of Abraham, which had been filled up by the Philistines of Gerar. In xxvi. 19 Isaac's servants, digging for water in the valley, found a spring.

The well of Gen. xxi. 25 may have been a spring. The wells of xxvi. 18, made by Abraham, are almost certainly cisterns cut in the rock for collecting rain-water. The rock in the district around Gerar is very soft and easily cut, and there are hundreds of cisterns and great caves quite near. The Philistines, not using the cisterns, had probably filled or closed them up, because stray animals might fall into them and perish, and Isaac reopened them. In xxvi. 19 the well is a spring, and the shepherds probably made a cavity to collect its water.

In face of the fact that thousands of years before the period of Abraham and Isaac cave-men were excavating dwellings and tunnels in the rock, and that the practice of cutting chambers in rock for cisterns, stores, or tombs has continued all through the history of Palestine, it would be ridiculous to assume that in the days of Abraham and Isaac, somewhere about 1800 B.C., their servants were too primitive and barbarous to

know how to excavate wells or cisterns in the rock. These passages, in fact, are bits of local colour, which bear the stamp of truth and actuality on the face of them.

In the caves of Gezer there are several instances where chambers have been later converted into cisterns; but there are several cisterns which were never used as chambers at all. The cave-dweller (prior to 2500) may not have made these cisterns, but, even so, they must still be of very early date. In the west tower of Taanach the open courtyard has a cistern in it; this fort was destroyed by 1300.

We may take it as fact that the Amorites and the Hittites both made rock-cut cisterns, where springs or running water were not available, at the very period spoken of in these passages. Though the final redaction of Genesis may not have been completed till many years after the events recorded, this does not affect the matter. The book contains the kernel of earlier documents, or records authentic tradition from an early date.

To-day in Palestine there are more quarrels over water than over any other matter, except, perhaps, money. People will lie, cheat, steal to obtain water in a dry season. Nothing could be more natural or realistic than these accounts of quarrels between shepherds about their water supply. There are days in Palestine when even "a cup of cold water" is a very great gift indeed; and in the dry summer of 1925 at Jerusalem we had constant visits of poor Arab women begging even a panful of fresh water from our house

cistern, which was known to contain two or three years' supply.

As indicated in Gen. xxvi. 18, cisterns for collecting rain-water were often abandoned and allowed to fall into disuse. In the summer, and especially after a poor rain season, cisterns might lie empty for months with only a deep coat of soft, slimy mud at the bottom. Even this slime occasionally became dried before the winter rains came.

Abandoned cisterns, however, were not always filled in or covered up for safety, as in Gen. xxvi. 18. In Gen. xxxvii. 20, 22 an empty cistern is used by Reuben to throw Joseph into, to save his life. In fact, the words of 20, "Come now, let us cast him into *some pit,*" imply that such pits or empty cisterns were of quite frequent occurrence, and correctly so. It is another instance of the unconscious accuracy of detail which strikes us so forcibly all through the Old Testament narratives.

Gedaliah and Ishmael

(Jer. xli. 7.)

The case of Joseph is not isolated. Empty cisterns have on more than one occasion been used for disposing of troublesome people, living or dead. Jer. xli. 7 is a very striking example of this. Ishmael, who had just slain Gedaliah and his Chaldean friends at Mizpah, enticed the eighty visitors, who had come from Shechem and Shiloh to worship and burn incense, into the town, where he slew seventy of them and "cast them into the midst of the pit." It is possible

that the words "the pit" refer to a cistern of unusual size.

The pit into which he cast their bodies was, as verse 9 says, the large rock-cut cistern, or one of the cisterns, which Asa, King of Judah, made in preparation for an attack by Baasha, King of Israel. It was intended to collect rain-water and provide against a siege.

Now, it is a curious fact that, in excavating the ruins known as Tell-en-Nasbeh in 1926, the American excavators found that the Tell is the ruins of this town Mizpah; and within the town, or fort, for it was a "walled city," they found eight or nine rock-hewn cisterns, one of them large enough to hold fifty people, and one containing a great number of human skeletons. The cistern had apparently been filled up and closed at an early date, before 600 B.C. certainly, and had never been used again, nor even opened, after these bodies had been thrown in. This is shown, apparently, by the stratification of the débris above the cistern, the lowest stratum corresponding with the date in the Old Testament record, as well as by the contents of the cistern itself.

The excavators claim that here they have found the actual "pit," or "cistern," of Jer. xli. 7. Probably they will also find confirmation of verse 9 in the form of indisputable traces of the work of Asa, though that is a more difficult problem, seeing that inscriptions and steles were seemingly never erected by these kings. We find remains which we have no difficulty in assigning to David, Solomon, or Hezekiah—these

three were outstanding builders—but our knowledge is far from definite for the period between Solomon and Hezekiah (900-700), and, again, between Hezekiah and Nehemiah (700-400). Uzziah and Manasseh were both great builders, but so far we have not been able to assign any buildings or repairs uncovered with certainty to either, although some of the walls attributed to Hezekiah may have been the work of Manasseh, his son. In this incident the Old Testament narrative has once more added to our knowledge, for, apart from it, we should not have known that the kings of Judah took such precautions. The statement of verse 9 is very likely correct; we have no reason to doubt it.*

* Cave 8, I., at Gezer is another example. Here a great mass of bones of human beings, cows, sheep, and goats was found under the southern well shaft, covered over by a cairn of large stones thrown in. This had been a massacre of the Hebrew period (800-600 B.C.). Cave 8, I., had been converted into a cistern, and was thus polluted, used as a prison or refuse pit. This massacre has been associated with the attack by Sargon or some Assyrian king or governor, and pottery of a distinctive Assyrian type was found in the cave.

This cistern contained skeletons of fourteen males, age eighteen to fifty, and one girl, age about sixteen. The girl's body (2) was cut in two. Bronze spear points lay as shown (see Gezer, Plan of Cave 8, I. [Macalister]). Large stones lay under, round, and above them. As the bones are in position these were thrown in when there was only mud in the cistern. They did not float till they fell to pieces. The stones had either been thrown at them to kill them, as is most likely, or thrown in afterwards to form a sort of cairn over them.

Disused granaries seem to have been similarly employed (see p. 76).

The great value and importance attached to a sure supply of water in Jerusalem and other such waterless spots is evidenced by such passages as 2 Kings xviii. 31, Isaiah xxxvi. 16. In the incident here recorded the Rabshakeh of Sennacherib shows his own astuteness as well as his intimate knowledge of the conditions of life and urgent needs in Jerusalem. He offers the people the very bribes that would most entice them to desert Hezekiah—to each man his own cistern, his own vineyard, and his own fig-tree. The Hebrew word used for cistern is the same as the word translated "pit" in Gen. xxvii. 20 and 22.

Prov. v. 15 expresses the same sentiment, the wisdom of every man having his own water supply: "Drink waters out of thine own cistern, and running waters out of thine own well," the custom of sharing cisterns having obviously proved unsatisfactory, as it does still.

Jer. ii. 13 is another passage which reflects Jerusalem's one great need—a fountain of living waters—though here it is used as a spiritual simile. "My people have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, *broken cisterns,* that can *hold no water.*" Even cisterns that can hold water are a poor substitute for a copious, ever-flowing spring; and since the war Britain's great problem in Jerusalem has been how to acquire and bring to the city a ceaseless flow of good spring water.

It is no wonder that Zionists hail Britain as the God-appointed agent for the restoration of the chosen people. There will soon be an abundant supply of water in the Holy City, and the passages quoted will

be no longer true of Jerusalem at least. The city's long-felt need will be supplied, as it never was in all its past history.

"Broken cisterns" were no rare occurrence, and "leaking cisterns" were still more common, for earthquakes occur with considerable frequency in Palestine, and the walls of rock-cut cisterns were frequently broken by them.

We found an excellent example of a "broken cistern" on Ophel. It was a built cistern. The lowest part of it had been cut in the rock, and broad steps led down to the well. These steps were split open from top to bottom. They had been plastered and repaired, and again the plaster was broken open, probably by an earthquake or by the slipping of the débris above it.

The rock in some parts is quite porous, and, in consequence, cisterns cut in it would "hold no water." Hence we find that at an early date cisterns were plastered over with two or three coats of lime-mud, sometimes baked hard by fires lit in the interior; and these had to be recoated with fresh plaster from time to time. In one late cistern we actually found that the last coat of plaster had been painted a rich brown.

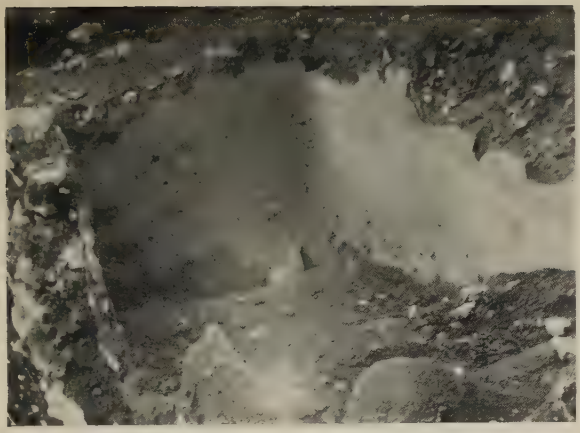
The classical passage for an empty cistern used as a prison in Old Testament times is Jer. xxxviii. 6. In xxxvii. 16 Jeremiah is put into a dungeon with compartments underneath the house of Jonathan, the scribe. This may have been an empty cistern, but probably was a set of ancient underground chambers, such as I found on Ophel in August, 1925, that had

similarly been converted into a cistern by the Arabs.

In this set of chambers on Ophel there were seven rooms on end connected by doors or rude openings in the rock-walls; and at a later period six of these had been converted into a cistern of six compartments, or "cabins," by cutting a circular hole in the roof of one room and directing the surface drainage of the rain season into them.

In Jer. xxxviii. 6, however, there is no doubt that the dungeon of Malchiah was an empty cistern, into which Jeremiah was "let down by cords." That detail alone, and the method by which they pulled him up in xxxviii. 12-13, are sufficiently graphic to attest the truth of the incident. They let him down by a cord and they threw down "old cast clouts, and rotten rags," and bade him put these under his armpits to prevent the cord from cutting him as they pulled him up.

Equally graphic is the sentence in xxxviii. 6: "So Jeremiah sank in the mire." It tells us that this cistern of Malchiah's was fed by surface drainage, and, consequently, there was a deep deposit of alluvial mud in the bottom. It tells us also that this was not a disused cistern, but only one whose contents had been used up, for the mud was soft. If the mud was as deep as we found it in excavating some old cisterns near this very spot spoken of in this passage, Jeremiah must have had a very painful experience. The cruelty of it is only apparent when we realise that the prisoner dare not lie down. If he did he would be drowned in mud. He could not move from one spot to another



PLASTERED BUILT CISTERN—OPHEL.

A BROKEN CISTERN—OPHEL.

facing p. 58.

INTERIOR OF THE MOSQUE BUILT OVER THE CAVE OF MACHPELAH.

SEE P. 89.

facing p. 59.

without speedily exhausting himself. It was a drastic punishment, and when we consider that they fed him very scantily, it is quite clear that he was meant to die, as Zedekiah knew (xxxviii. 10). It was a convenient way of removing troublesome people without leaving any trace, and death could be attributed to accident. It is more correct, therefore, to say that empty cisterns were used occasionally as "death-traps," or places of execution. The incident recorded in 2 Kings x. 12 is another example of a "pit" used for this purpose. Here Jehu probably either slew the forty-two brethren of Ahaziah and cast their bodies into the pit, or cast them alive into the pit and stoned them till they died, as seems to have been the practice.

When we read this incident in Jeremiah's life we can understand what was in the mind of the writer of Ps. xl.

"I waited patiently for the Lord; and He inclined unto me and heard my cry." The prisoner in Jeremiah's helpless plight could do no more than wait and pray.

"He brought me up also out of an horrible pit, out of the miry clay, and set my feet upon rock, and established my goings."

No words could better describe the experience of Jeremiah. The pit is the same word again, meaning a rock-cut chamber or cistern. The miry clay is that of Jer. xxxviii. 6. The "rock" is the rock surface by the edge of the mouth of the cistern; and if anyone has ever tried to walk in the mud at the bottom of such a cistern, or of a tunnel, as I have done in the

Siloam tunnel, he will fully appreciate the meaning of the words "He established my goings." (Literally, "He gave me control of my movements.")

These words of Ps. xl. 1-4 might almost have been Jeremiah's Song of Deliverance; and who knows that they are not? If not written by Jeremiah, the words were written by one who had passed through a similar experience, and knew what it was to wallow in miry clay till death or mercy should come to deliver him.

CHAPTER VI

GENESIS XIV

EVEN the most drastic of critics have suspected a background of history in this chapter. Some would maintain that the first thirteen chapters of Genesis are purely legendary and that history begins here, a position which has been rendered impossible by the recent proof that the Flood is historical.

The chapter records how Chedorlaomer, King of Elam, Tidal, King of Nations—the word translated "Gentiles" in later times, which here probably means "hired soldiers"—Amraphel, King of Shinar, and Arioch, King of Ellasar, invaded Palestine, coming down the Jordan Valley, and made war on the "kings" of Sodom and Gomorrah with their three allies, the "kings" of Admah, Zeboiim, and Zoar. These five Canaanite "kings," or governors, had previously been subdued by Chedorlaomer and had paid tribute for twelve years, but now in the thirteenth year had rebelled. In the fourteenth year Chedorlaomer had made a triumphal journey of conquest down through Transjordania to the south end of the Dead Sea, as far as Seir and El Paran, and then returned to Kadesh (Emmishpat), after conquering the Horites, Amorites, and Amalekites in that region.

The five kings attacked him and his allies on his return. They fought in the Vale of Siddim, where

there were bitumen pits, in which the Kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fell as they fled, defeated by the invaders. The existence of bitumen pits is an accurate detail, but they may have been located at either end of the Dead Sea.

Abraham, having collected his servants and Amorite friends around Hebron, pursued the invaders to Dan, fell upon them by night, routed them, and brought back all the treasure which they had carried off, along with Lot and his possessions (verse 14).

This verse contains a real difficulty. If we understand Dan to be in the far North, the rest of the chapter does not hang well together, geographically speaking. Sir Flinders Petrie, who places Sodom and Gomorrah at the south end of the Dead Sea instead of at the north end, as is usual, has suggested that the Dan referred to here is Dannah of Josh. xv. 49, between Socoh and Debir. This Dannah is about twenty-five miles west of the south end of the Dead Sea, and lies in the hill country between Hebron and Beersheba, with which Abraham was so familiar. Chedorlaomer, after defeating these five kings in the Vale of Siddim by the bitumen pits at the south end of the Dead Sea, had moved westward with the intention of going north from Beersheba to attack Jerusalem. Abraham and his small company followed and, having laid an ambush for him and his confederates in the hilly country round Dannah, fell upon them by night and routed them. In the hilly country their horses would be of little service to them.

Chedorlaomer's proposed campaign against Jeru-

salem was thus checked. He and his friends turned back to the Dead Sea and escaped on their horses up the Jordan Valley, Abraham pursuing them as far as Hobah, near Damascus (verse 15).

This reconstruction satisfactorily disposes of the geographical difficulty and explains the gratitude of Melchizedek, "king" of Jerusalem, who was thus saved from attack.

The question now naturally arises, What is the historical background of this narrative? It is so circumstantial in its details that it cannot be set aside as mythical.

The records known as the Spartoli tablets,* belonging to the period 2000-1800, tell how Babylonia was laid waste by a group of kings, among whom were Tudkhala, or Tudhula, Eri-Eaku, and Kudur-Lahamal. (Tudkhala is Tidal, and Kudur-Lahamal is Chedorlaomer, and Eri-Eaku is Arioch, all of whom are mentioned in Gen. xiv. 1). Chedorlaomer brought with him to Babylonia, apparently as auxiliary mercenaries, a people called the Umman-Mandu, probably Indo-Iranians. No Cossæan names occur on these tablets. The Cossæans immigrated westward somewhere about 1800-1742. These tablets, therefore, speak of events prior to 1800.

This invasion of Babylonia by Chedorlaomer falls into the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon, 2179-1870, and the Hittite invasion which destroyed the First Dynasty of Babylon must be dated about 1870.

* T. G. Pinches, *The O.T. in the Light of Historical Research and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia,* p. 222.

The "nations" of Gen. xiv. are mercenaries employed as allies, as the "Mandu" were in the Spartoli tablets. It is noticeable that on these tablets Tudhula, or Tidal, is not described as king of a town, but simply "King of Nations." He appears to have been an adventurer, leader of a band of mercenaries drawn from many nations.

According to these tablets, therefore, the events recorded in Gen. xiv. must date about or prior to 1850, or roughly between 2000 and 1800, which agrees exactly with the date we have assigned on other evidence to the arrival of Abraham in Palestine and the invasion of Palestine by the Hittites. The events must have fallen within the first thirty-one years of the reign of Hammurabi, or Amraphel (see below).

Shinar (verse 1) is almost certain to be Singara, on the eastern branch of the Euphrates.

Amraphel, King of Shinar, is now identified as no other than Hammurabi, the well-known Babylonian king of the First Dynasty of Babylon, who ruled about the period above mentioned. His name occurs also as Ammurabi, and, better still, as Ammurapi, which is practically the Hebrew form. The dropping of the first letter, *h*, shows it was the soft, not the guttural *h*. The letter *l* added at the end of the name in Hebrew is probably due to an incorrect reading of another form of the name. Hammurabi reigned for forty-three years, and a list or record exists giving some detail of interest for each year of his reign.* This record is compiled from an ancient list of dates

* Pinches, p. 211.

and a number of trade documents; it is, for the most part, of purely domestic interest and mentions no expedition to "the land of the Amorites," or Palestine. Its silence may quite well be due to its mutilated state. It is also to be borne in mind that Hammurabi made this trip with Chedorlaomer, for whom he could have no deep affection, since he had only recently been conquered by him.

Chedorlaomer, King of Elam, a land hitherto ruled by Babylon, had conquered Babylon some years before, and Arioch, King of Ellasar, ruled over a recently acquired tract, which Amraphel considered should be his own. Amraphel further regarded the "land of the Amurru" (Amorites), which included Palestine, as his own. Yet here he is compelled to go with his conqueror and help him to subdue the land of the Amorites, his own possession. It would not, therefore, be surprising if the expedition were not mentioned in his records. In fact, Gen. xiv. says the Amorites had served Chedorlaomer, not Amraphel, for twelve years, and then rebelled. Amraphel must, therefore, have been in subjection to the Elamite king for that period at least.

For confirmation of the identification of Amraphel, King of Shinar, with Hammurabi, it would be of great value to find his name associated with Arioch, Chedorlaomer, and Tidal, or even with one of them, in some other ancient record in cuneiform.

Now, in the record of Ammurabi's reign the event noted for his thirty-first year is the conquest of Rim-Sin, "King of the Land Yamutbalum." This Rim-Sin

is elsewhere named Eri-Sin and Eri-Aku. Eri-Sin and Eri-Aku are both described as King of Larsa among other titles. Eri-Aku, King of Larsa, is Arioch, King of El-*lasar*.* The El- prefix is probably the article.

All that we know of the city Larsa, or El-lasar, of Gen. xiv. 1, is that it was a centre of sun-worship, and its kings all bore Semitic names. This gives us the needed association of Hammurabi with Eri-Aku, or Arioch of Ellasar.

The fact that Amraphel had only recently conquired Arioch shows also that Arioch was in the same position as himself, a conquered vassal of Chedorlaomer's. Thus we see that Chedorlaomer was the ruling spirit, Arioch and Amraphel being his vassals or conquered allies, and Tidal was probably a hired leader of the mercenaries.

Melchizedek

When Abraham returned with the spoils, Melchizedek showed his gratitude by meeting him with supplies, and invoked the blessing of El Elyon upon him. Dr. Pinches takes it that he blessed him as "Abraham of El Elyon."

Melchizedek was King—that is, Amorite Governor—of Jerusalem and priest of El Elyon, "the God of the Heights," though this is usually translated as "the most High God." The name "Melchi-zedek" means in Hebrew "Zedek [*i.e.*, Righteousness] is my King." Adoni-Zedek is practically the same name, and means

* Pinches, p. 218.

"Zedek is my Lord." Some personify "Zedek" and understand it to be the name of the God who was served.

Abraham gave Melchizedek tithes of the spoil. These tithes were dedicated to El Elyon, "the God of the Heights," or "God as the God of the Heights." This is significant, since it was by the aid of the hills that Abraham overcame Chedorlaomer and his allies. Verse 20 thus bears a new significance: "And blessed be the God of the Heights, which hath delivered thine enemies into thy hand." That the God of Jerusalem at this period should be known as "God of the Heights" is quite natural, since the Amorites occupied the hill parts of the country, and Jerusalem itself was on the hills. El Elyon was the Amorite deity.

In a cuneiform tablet* Jerusalem is spoken of as Bit-Ninip ("House, or Temple, of Ninip"), implying that Ninip was the Babylonian name of the God of Jerusalem. One of Ninip's names is Madanunu, which has a somewhat similar significance to El Elyon. The Amorite God was known to the Arcadians and included in their Pantheon as *Marrtu,* in Babylonian as *Amurru;* and he is described in both as "Lord of the Mountain,"† which is probably translated in Gen. xiv. by the words El Elyon. Melchizedek is therefore correctly described as an Amorite governor, or "king," and "priest"‡

* See Pinches, p. 235. † Pinches, p. 156.

‡ Some 400 or 500 years after this, Abdi-taba, the ruler of Urusalim, writing to his master, the King of Egypt, says: "Behold, this land of Jerusalem, neither my father nor my

mother gave it to me—the hand of the mighty king gave it to me." This means that Abdi-taba did not inherit his position by birth, but received it as a gift from the King of Egypt. It is interesting, therefore, that in Heb. vii. 3, Melchizedek is described as being "without father, without mother."

Abdi-taba was certainly a vassal of the great King of Egypt, but Melchizedek seems to have occupied a more independent position. Perhaps, however, Jerusalem was at this period under Babylonia, and he had received his power from Amraphel or Chedorlaomer.

It seems as if the expression Melchizedek was a formula used to describe a king or governor, who renounced all ties and interests save those of the land he governed, or of the master he served. The Epistle to the Hebrews, whether consciously or not, has revived the old usage and given it a new significance.

For formulas of this kind, *cf.* Abimelech of Gerar (see p. 50).

CHAPTER VII

ABRAHAM AND THE CAVE OF MACHPELAH

GEN. xxiii., though not the original legal document recording the purchase of the cave of Machpelah, is exactly the narrative which one might write with the legal document before one. Practically every point which we should expect to be specially mentioned in the deed of purchase is included in the narrative.

Many such deeds of sale or purchase have been found on cuneiform tablets from Babylonia and Assyria, though these are shorter and in different terms.* In these the boundaries of the land sold are stated with great precision, thus: "A field by the crossing, in the upper district of Tenu, beside the [field of] Qaranu, the Son of the Palace, and beside the property of Ili-midi, its first end the road Astaba, its second end the property of the enclosure Tenunam." Every possible indication of its locality is given, so as to make possession sure against litigation.

In Gen. xxiii. the location of the cave of Machpelah is not mentioned, probably because the name was enough, and the boundaries of the field that accompanied it are also omitted.

In the cuneiform tablets, again, the nature of the land is not stated unless it be cultivated, and apparently

* Pinches, *The O.T. in the Light of Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia,* pp. 167, 178, 236-267.

only trees that are of commercial value, such as fruit-trees, date-palms, etc., are mentioned.

In Gen. xxiii. 17 the field and the cave in the field, and the trees in the field, as well as the trees growing on its boundaries are all specially detailed as being "made sure unto Abraham for a possession."

In Babylonia, as in Palestine, bargains and transactions of a legal nature were generally carried out in the open space just outside the gate of the city, where witnesses could very readily be procured. Usually it was the gate nearest to the house of one of the contracting parties. Similarly, we read of the elders or the king sitting in the gate to adjust legal differences and disputes among the people—*e.g.*, Jer. xxxviii. 7 *ff.*; *cf.* Isa. xxiv. 21; Amos v. 10, 15; Deut. xxi. 19; 2 Sam. xv. 2, Absalom. So David waited for news of the battle with Absalom, sitting "between the two gates" so that no message could pass him unobserved (2 Sam. xviii. 24). Gen. xxiii. 18 shows that, according to the usual custom, the bargain between Ephron and Abraham was carried out at the gate of the city of Hebron.

In the cuneiform documents, again, the names of the witnesses are all specially mentioned. In Gen. xxiii. the names of the witnesses are omitted, because this is not the legal document itself, but a narrative based on it. Verse 18 says simply that the purchase was effected "in the presence of the children of Heth, before all that went in at the gates of the city."

The price, 400 shekels of silver, is also definitely stated, even to the detail of Abraham's weighing out

the silver on a balance before the people at the gate, an incident which I have sometimes seen at the gate and in the bazaars of the East, though coined money is now used.

Thus in almost every detail we get here a correct description of a bargain as it was carried out in Palestine as early as 2000-1600 B.C. The contracting parties met at the gate of the city on an open space just like that outside the Damascus Gate of Jerusalem to-day; the land to be purchased is described so clearly that there can be no mistake—the name Machpelah and its fields perhaps being enough in this case; witnesses were procured from the onlookers or passers-by as they entered the gate; the contents of the field are detailed; the price is stated—everything, in fact, as we should expect it to be from our knowledge of other Eastern people of the same period.

There is one other feature of local colour in this narrative which is very striking as well as convincing, the method in which the contracting parties approached each other. The attitude of Ephron is strikingly Oriental. Again and again I have expressed great admiration for something in the possession of an Arab gentleman calling on me, and promptly he has handed it over to me, saying: "It is yours. It is no longer mine, since you admire it, or since you wish it." But I should have made a very grave error in politeness had I accepted it. So Ephron here offered the cave and the field at once to Abraham as a gift; but Abraham took the correct attitude and asked him to state his price.

Again, Ephron's way of stating his price is purely Oriental, and may be heard to-day in the East. "The land is worth 400 shekels of silver. What is that between thee and me?" (Verse 15.) The only feature which is not Oriental is that Abraham did not haggle or try to reduce the price. Abraham's method of approaching Ephron is also more straightforward and pointed than the usual Oriental method. Ephron would probably not have approached the transaction in the same manner. The shekel agreed upon was the weight or amount current among merchants at the time (verse 16), about 105 grains probably.

Thus from this chapter we glean a great deal of accurate information regarding life in Palestine at this early period. Even those who believe Abraham to be a mere type, and his story a legend invented after the event, cannot rob this chapter of its correct description of incidents as they actually happened at the period represented. If the Book of Genesis was composed as late as 600 B.C., how could the writer have written with such accuracy of detail unless he had earlier documents before him, conceivably the original deed of the sale of Machpelah?

I append an example of a deed of sale from a cuneiform tablet to show both the similarity and the points of difference.*

"A field by the crossing, in the upper district of Tenu, beside [the property of] Qaranu, the son of the palace, and beside [the property of] Ilimidi, its first

* Pinches, p. 237.

end the road Astaba (*tum*) its second end the property of the enclosure Tenunam, Ilsubani has bought from Nannara-mansum and Sib-bani, his brother, sons of Sin-abu-su, for its complete price. He has paid the money, he has passed the barrier, his transaction is complete—the silver, the price of their field is complete, they are content. They shall not say We have not received the money—they have received it before the elders. At no future time shall Nannara-mansum and Sin-bani make claim upon the field. They have invoked the spirit of Samas (the Sun), Merodach and Zabium (the King)."

The expression "passed the barrier" may refer to entering the field and taking formal possession before the witnesses; or it may be merely figurative, implying that the barrier to possession is now removed.

CHAPTER VIII

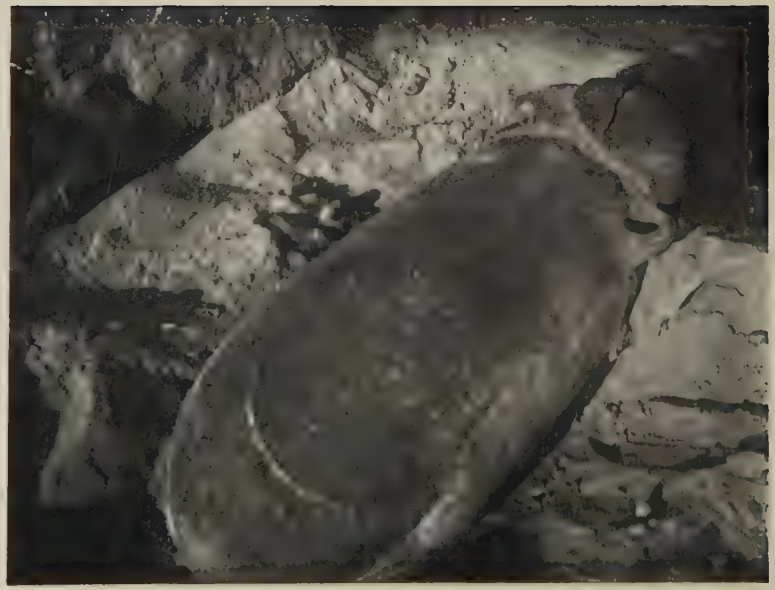
STORE CHAMBERS

In Gen. xli. 35-36 Joseph recommends the Pharaoh to "take up a fifth part" of the crops of the land, for the seven good years, and to store the grain against the time of famine that was coming. The incident belongs chronologically to the eighteenth to seventeenth century B.C., the period when the later Semitic Hyksos kings were ruling over Northern Egypt.

Whether or not Joseph originated this policy of storing grain in all the cities of Egypt it seems to have been the regular practice. Probably every city had its storehouse or granary, just as we find in Palestine large "king's treasuries," built for the reception and storing of the revenue in corn, wine, and oil, notably in the palace of Omri and Ahab at Samaria, and at Jerusalem. These store-cities, such as Pithom and Rameses referred to in Exodus, were probably the headquarters of officials appointed to collect the revenue in kind from the various districts into which the country was divided. In Palestine one head revenue official was appointed who resided in the capital, and to him the officials of the various districts brought their revenue and rendered an account. This is exactly what is suggested in Gen. xli. 33-34, that the Pharaoh should appoint one head official over all the land, with a retinue of officials under him, to collect

GRAIN STOREHOUSES IN GOSHEN, EGYPT. KNOWN AS "THE PITS OF JOSEPH" TO-DAY.

facing p. 74.



INFANT "POT BURIAL" IN POSITION (GOSHEN)

SEE P. 86

SEE P. 74

the revenue in the various districts and store it in the various cities. From evidence found in the excavation of various sites in Palestine it appears that the Amorites or Canaanites employed the same system of collecting the king's revenues, so that the Hebrews in Jerusalem and Samaria were following the traditions of both Egyptians and Canaanites.

At the modern village of Sharhanba, in Goshen, there are ruins which are known to the Arabs to-day as "Burru Yusef," "the pits of Joseph." In these ruins I found a set of six circular brick-built pits, each about 15 feet deep and 13 feet across, built into a massive square brick platform which rested on the inner side of the town wall, and thus formed a sort of tower inside the wall, measuring 75 feet square. A sloping pathway or staircase on the west side led to the top of the platform. Each pit had had a beehive-shaped top with an opening in it. This opening had been the only means of filling and emptying the bins.

This site had a sand-wall rampart round it which had probably been faced inside with a vertical brick or stone wall, and outside by a sloping *glacis*. This at once suggests that it had been a fort of the Semitic Hyksos kings of the time of Joseph, and perhaps here we have an illustration of the policy advocated in this passage of Genesis. These earth ramparts with an outside sloping *glacis* face are characteristic of Hittite fortifications in Palestine, and are one of the reasons for our identification of the Hittites with the later Hyksos kings of Northern Egypt.

Similar circular-built pits have been found on several

sites in Palestine. In the Gezer High Place two were found resembling the usual bell-shaped cistern but built of field-stones and mud. These closely resembled these "pits of Joseph" in size, and had circular floors of rough paving stones.*

The eleven circular pits of Gezer† seem to have been of much the same construction. Probably these were originally corn-bins, though later they fell into disuse and were used as refuse pits or pits for the quick removal of men or animals slaughtered in war or otherwise.

These eleven pits contained the bones of a great number of human beings, as well as of camels, cows, horses, sheep, goats, and donkeys—a sort of general massacre, which Macalister attributes to the capture of Gezer by the Pharaoh (1 Kings ix. 16).‡

* Macalister, *Gezer*, II., 398.

† Macalister, *Gezer* I., 342.

‡ Other examples of similar circular corn-bins and granaries found at Gezer are described in I., 200-201.

CHAPTER IX

THE CONQUEST OF PALESTINE

(*a*) The Little City

Behold now, this city is near to flee unto, and it is a little one: Oh, let me flee thither! Is it not a little one (Mizar)?—Gen. xix. 20.

This appeal of Lot to be allowed to escape to a "little city" near to Sodom, on the ground of its smallness, has always puzzled me. We cannot explain why the smallness of the city should be an argument in its favour, unless it is implied that where the population is small iniquity is less. Lot's reluctance to retire and hide himself in a cave in the hills of Transjordania is quite intelligible. He naturally disliked the loneliness of exile. The point to be noted is the existence near Sodom of a fortified place remarkable even in those days for its restricted area.

The period of which the narrative professes to speak is somewhere about 2000 B.C. At that time the "cities" fortified by the Amorites were all remarkably small from our point of view. Gezer, for instance, covered only about twenty-seven acres, Megiddo about twenty, Jerusalem about sixteen acres, Lachish was slightly larger—a quarter of a mile square. Bethshemesh, Mizpah, Kirjath-Sepher were seven or eight acres.

There was a fortified city in the Valley of the Jordan as small as the last-named ones—namely, Jericho, the area of which was never more than six to eight acres at its greatest size. It was built beside the excellent spring of water known to-day as Elisha's fountain, which was within the walls. If Sodom and Gomorrah were situated at the north end of the Dead Sea, Jericho, standing on its mound above the level of the surrounding plain, must have been visible even from the Dead Sea itself. Some scholars hold that the Cities of the Plain were at the southern end of the Dead Sea, but our identification of the little city, if correct, is evidence for the northern site. Jericho was a fortified city during the Amorite period, 4000-2500.

(*b*) The Walls of Jericho

She [Rahab] let them down by a cord through the window: for her house was upon the town wall, and she dwelt upon the wall. . . .

The wall fell down flat. (Literally, fell under itself. The same expression is used in Josh. vi. 5.)—Josh. ii. 15; vi. 20.

These two expressions have naturally puzzled translators. The Authorised Version renders Josh. ii. 15 "for her house was upon the wall of the city," and assumed that the second word used for "wall" was here also used in the sense of the "space enclosed by the wall"—*i.e.*, "the city." The expression (in ii. 15) means literally "on the wall of the wall" (*baqîr ha-khomah*). In the very next clause *khomah* is rendered "wall," so that the same word is rendered first "city" then "wall" in the same sentence.

THE SPRING AT JERICHO WITH THE ANCIENT FORT BUILT TO DEFEND IT. NOW KNOWN AS ELISHA'S FOUNTAIN.

THE JORDAN NEAR JERICHO BRIDGE. THE PLAIN OF JERICHO—MOUND OF TEMPTATION IN BACKGROUND.

facing p. 78.

THE STONE WALL WITH BRICK PARAPET—1800-1280 B.C.
"THE WALL OF THE WALL."

STILL OLDER "DOUBLE WALLS" OF JERICHO WITH THE PASSAGE BETWEEN.—2500-2000 B.C.

facing p. 79.

There must have been some reason in the writer's mind for using this expression, "the wall of the wall." It cannot be mere redundancy, especially as two different Hebrew words for "wall" are used—*qir* and *khomah*.

I suggest that there is a reference to the fact that the wall of Jericho at that period consisted of two parts, one of stone and the other of brick. In the excavation of Jericho three walls were found. The first was a massive brick wall of very early date. The second consisted of two brick walls, an outer and an inner, about 27-30 feet apart. The third wall, built about 1800, was outside of these two. Its lower portion was of stone, the upper of brick. This is now admitted to have been the wall of the period of Joshua's attack. It is very likely that the débris inside the city had risen so high that the level of the interior was practically on a level with the surface of the stone wall or even of the brick wall, so that Rahab's house rested literally on the wall. Near the Zion Gate of Jerusalem to-day there is an empty space where the citizens have been allowed to dump rubbish close to the inside face of the city wall, till the mound of débris is now higher than the wall itself. Clearly, if Rahab's house was "on" the brick wall, the level of the city inside must have been much higher than the level of the ground outside. The excavators who exposed this stone wall say it is doubtful whether the stone wall was above or under ground. It would seem that by accumulation of débris inside the city the stone wall was largely under ground and invisible; while on the outside it was

probably above ground and visible from its banquette substruction upwards. The expression "on the wall of the wall" may, therefore, mean simply that Rahab's house rested on the lower or stone section of the city wall. The brick wall above it was considerably narrower. Or it may quite well mean that Rahab's house rested partly on the brick wall itself, which was only $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick and 8 feet high. Houses on the wall were not unusual. The words would then mean that her house rested "on the brick wall of the stone wall." The word *qir,* used here only once, may describe a wall of different material from that used in the *khomah.*

In the Oxford Hebrew Lexicon, *qir* is given as meaning a "wall," but often "surface of a wall"; and there *qir hakhomah* is rendered "the inner surface of the wall," meaning that the house was built close to the wall.

As Dr. Kennedy points out, this makes the window impossible, as a window could not pierce a wall of even $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet thickness. He therefore suggests that *qir* must here mean a "battlement" or "parapet" on the top of the wall proper: or, deriving it from the root *qur,* "to excavate," "a hollow in the wall."

I accept Dr. Kennedy's suggestion of "a parapet" on the top of the wall proper; and the "parapet" was the brick wall which was found on the top of the stone wall. The stone wall was about 10 feet thick and the brick wall was only $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick. There is no evidence that *khomah* was ever used with the meaning "city" or "fortress." It ususally means a

"city wall." In the name *qir haraseth* (2 Kings iii. 25, etc.) *qir* seems to be used specially of a "brick wall."

As this brick wall or parapet of Jericho was only $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and 8 feet high, the house of Rahab could well have rested partly on accumulated débris and partly on the top of the stone wall, and yet had a window or opening high enough to allow the spies to be let down "over the wall."

When we turn to Josh. vi. 5 and 20, we find that only the *khomah* or lower stone wall is spoken of; and naturally so, for the stone wall gave them most concern. If it should fall the brick wall above it would give no trouble.

We are, therefore, no longer surprised or puzzled at the manner in which the fall of the wall is described in vi. 5 and 20. The Hebrew words are translated in the Authorised Version and the Revised Version "the wall fell down flat," but the words literally mean, "the wall (*khomah*) fell under itself"; and this, I imagine, is again an exact description of what actually happened. The stone wall gave way, but the brick wall adhered together and remained in position by its own strength. Or perhaps the section of the brick wall to some extent dropped down and literally sat in unbroken courses on the ruins of the stone wall, so that it looked as if the under wall dropped out and the upper wall remained sitting on its ruins. The wall literally "fell under itself." With the stone wall removed, a brick wall of $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick would not be much of an obstruction to an attacking force.

There is here, therefore, another illustration of how accurate the Old Testament narrative is in historical detail; and a difficulty which has always puzzled commentators has been removed. But there is more.

The passage shows us that frequently the text is obscure to us, not because of the writer's deficiencies, but because of our own ignorance. The background needed for the full elucidation of the passage was so familiar to the people of the writer's time that he does not consider it necessary to fill it in. Archæology and excavation are now filling in this background for us; and passages once obscure are becoming not only intelligible, but full of fresh information as well. Further, the text of Joshua here definitely informs us which was the wall that surrounded Jericho in Joshua's time.

It is remarkable that the writer speaks throughout of "the wall," not "the walls" of Jericho. Had the wall of Joshua's time been the outer and inner brick walls, as Sellin and others thought, we should undoubtedly have expected the Old Testament narrative to speak not of "the wall," but of "the two walls of Jericho," using the dual form *khomayim,* as in 2 Kings xxv. 4, Isa. xxii. 11, of the "two walls of Jerusalem." As we have fallen into the habit of not expecting accuracy of detail in these narratives, the fact that the narrative mentions only one wall was disregarded as of no moment when the double brick walls were regarded as the walls of Joshua's period. Now it has been found that the narrative is quite correct in speak-

TELL SULTAN—RUINS OF JERICHO.

facing p. 82.

ROMAN BALISTA BALLS AND SLING STONES.
FOUND IN FACE OF EAST WALL OF ZION (OPHEL).

THE LONG DAVIDIC WALL. F.5.
(THE KING'S HIGH HOUSE).

facing p. 83.

ing of only one wall, or a wall with another wall or parapet above it.

Incidentally, there is here another important inference to be drawn. If Joshua utterly destroyed Jericho, the remembrance of the details of the event would be likely soon to perish. The narrative, therefore, must have been written close to the event.

In this connection such a verse as Num. xxi. 14 is significant. It may well be that "the Book of the Wars of the Lord" there mentioned was a contemporary record of the events described. There is nothing startling in supposing that there may have been a scribe or reporter with Joshua who could have kept a record of events. Writing was known and practised in Palestine by the fifteenth century B.C. and official records were kept. The language and script used was the cuneiform of Babylonia, but Phœnician writing was certainly used also by 1300. That is established fact; and the inscription on the sarcophagus of Akhiram leaves no doubt that the early Hebrew writing was in use at 1300-1200. The Amorites can scarcely have been in such close touch with the Babylonian civilisation without acquiring the art of writing at a very early period. The original text of some of the Old Testament narratives may thus have been written down even in Phœnician, or early Hebrew itself, by 1200 B.C., so far as the mere matter of writing is concerned. That they were scrappy and vivid is exactly what we should expect.

Since only three sets of walls have been found at Jericho, the question naturally arises: What has be-

come of the wall built by Hiel in the period of Ahab (1 Kings xvi. 34)?

It has been assumed that the whole circuit of the wall of Jericho fell flat at the final blast of the Hebrews' trumpets, though this is not stated in the Old Testament. It has also been assumed that the marching round the wall and the blowing of trumpets were the sole methods employed in throwing down the wall, though they were probably mere demonstrative concomitants to the real work of battering a hole in the stone wall. From excavation we learn that none of the three walls has been completely demolished; but the stone and brick wall has been broken down on the south and west sides near the south-west corner, and was afterwards restored with different and much inferior masonry.

According to the Old Testament narrative Jericho remained unoccupied till Hiel's time, or at least unfortified. Excavation reveals the fact that the ruins were occupied by a squatter settlement throughout that intervening period. During these years the wall had undoubtedly fallen into great disrepair, so that the work of Hiel consisted in rebuilding the breaches on the south and west sides, and repairing the wall all round. These breaches may mark the place where Joshua forced an entrance. The wall of Hiel must be regarded as the old wall of Joshua's time, partly rebuilt and partly repaired.

(*c*) Infant Sacrifice

Cursed be the man before the Lord that riseth up and buildeth this city, Jericho. He shall lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and in his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it.—Josh. vi. 26.

In 1 Kings xvi. 34 we read that Hiel of Bethel took this curse upon him by rebuilding Jericho for his master Ahab, the King of Northern Israel. "He laid the foundation thereof in Abiram, his first-born son; and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son, Segub."

It is puzzling to know what exactly was meant by Joshua when he uttered the words. Usually the passage has been understood to be a deterrent, on the ground that Jehovah did not wish Jericho to be restored, perhaps because it was dedicated to the Mother Goddess Astarte, though that seems an inadequate reason for singling out Jericho for a special curse, when all the other Canaanite towns were equally idolatrous. Some explain it as a desire to obliterate the memory of Achan's sin.

On this supposition, what does the second half of the verse mean? Is it the fulfilment of the curse, as if Joshua had said: "May he lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and may he set up the gates of it in his youngest son"? In other words: "May a curse be upon him and may it take the form of the loss of his oldest and youngest sons."

In any case, here we have a reference to the custom prevalent among the Canaanites of sacrificing an infant

at the laying of the foundation of any important building. This custom we are quite familiar with in Palestine. Examples of infant sacrifices have been found at the south gate of the west fort of Taanach, in the moat of the citadel at Megiddo, and at other Palestinian sites as well as in Egypt and other countries. Three instances were found in the excavation of Jericho itself.

When it dawned on people's minds that this was a useless waste of life, they substituted a burning oil lamp to represent the spark of life with a small bowl placed over it to extinguish that spark. Examples of this custom occur in Palestine.

Though we have found many instances of foundation sacrifices of infants, we as yet possess no record showing how the child was selected, or how the parents regarded the child's death.

The classic instance of child sacrifice is that of Iphigeneia by her father at Aulis, to appease the god of the winds, when the Greeks were setting out to besiege Troy. If the Greek poet, who describes it, accurately presents the situation, the father's feelings were acute and his suffering intense. It may, therefore, be implied that the loss of his two children will be the punishment of him who rebuilds Jericho.

To an Israelite that might be a severe deterrent, but hardly to a Canaanite whose regular practice it was, though perhaps the parents' sufferings were none the less on that account.

It is just possible that this verse is partly prophetic. The second half of the verse may be a plain statement

that, if Jericho is rebuilt, it will be rebuilt by a Canaanite or a believer in the Canaanite gods. In any case, that is exactly what happened. Ahab established the worship of Baal in Samaria and made a grove. Jeroboam had already set up a golden calf at Bethel. Hiel was a Bethelite and a creature of Ahab's. There is little doubt, therefore, that Hiel rebuilt Jericho with the ceremonial infant sacrifices customary among the Canaanites.

This passage in Joshua, however, gives us two facts hitherto unknown to us, thus supplementing archæology as well as confirming its results.

We have never known who supplied the child for these infant sacrifices. So far as I know, this is the only passage bearing on it. It seems to have been customary for the officer responsible for the work to supply the child for sacrifice. Hiel in the case of Jericho supplied two.

We learn, further, that it was customary to celebrate the completion of the work also by another infant sacrifice; for here Hiel sacrifices both his oldest and his youngest. A first-born child appears to have been chosen for the foundation sacrifice and a last-born child for the completion of the work, the setting-up of the gates, typifying the two stages of beginning and finishing.

Here, therefore, while we knew a little already we are indebted to the Old Testament writer for considerably augmenting our knowledge.

At the south-west corner of the west fort of Taanach there is a gate and a gate-tower. Close by is a small

built grave containing the bones of a child at least ten years old. This has hitherto been regarded as a foundation sacrifice. In the light of Josh. vi. 26, however, it is much more likely that it was an infant sacrifice offered when the gates were set up and the work completed. Excavation supplied no indication as to which stage of the work it marks, but Josh. vi. 26 seems to me to leave no doubt in the matter. It must have been a "completion" sacrifice.

(*d*) The Driving Out of the Canaanites

(Josh. xvi. 10; xv. 16, 63; xvii. 11-13. *Cf.* Judg. i. 21, 27, and 1 Sam. vii. 14.)

These passages deal with the settlement of the tribes of Israel in the land of Canaan, and mention a number of cities out of which the Israelites were unable to drive the Canaanites. The statement that "the Amorites and the Israelites dwelt side by side," means that the Amorites occupied the towns and the Israelites settled in the surrounding district. The more prominent among the towns mentioned are Bethshan, Taanach, Megiddo, Gezer, Acre, Sidon, Bethshemesh, and Jerusalem.

It is worth noting that in Judg. i. 31, 32, the writer states of Accho, Sidon, and surrounding towns, that "the Asherites dwelt among the Canaanites." In verse 33 the same statement is made of Naphtali and Bethshemesh.

In Judg. i. 27 and 35 occurs the statement: "But the Canaanites would dwell in that land," which is an admission that Israel was unable to drive them out (*cf.*

Josh. xv. 63). Elsewhere in the passages quoted above, the statement runs: "The Canaanites dwelt in Gezer among them" (Judg. i. 29) and "The Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day"; and Israel is stated ultimately to have made the Canaanites pay tribute, except in the case of Jerusalem.

From the Old Testament narrative itself it is quite clear that the conquest of the Amorites by Israel was a very gradual process. In some towns, as appears from the language used, all that the Israelites acquired was a settlement among the Canaanites. In other cases, it seems that the Canaanites were allowed to remain on sufferance or were overwhelmed completely. 1 Sam. vii. 14 shows that warfare with the Amorites was intermittent—"And there was peace between Israel and the Amorites."

What happened in the case of Jerusalem is very clearly stated. The Benjamites were not able to take this stronghold, and the Jebusites remained in possession, holding the stronghold in the midst of the Benjamites till about 1030, when David captured it and made it his capital. Jerusalem, therefore, remained a Jebusite stronghold from the beginning of the period of the Judges (about 1210 till 1050), and no mention is made in these passages of the Jebusites paying tribute. In fact, they were unconquered.* Gezer was never captured till the Pharaoh took it and gave it to Solomon in 960 B.C. (1 Kings ix. 16).

The same is true of other towns, particularly the

* If Judah captured and destroyed Jerusalem (Judg. i. 8), the Jebusites must have at once reoccupied it.

string of Amorite forts stretching across the Plain of Esdrælon from the Jordan to the modern Haifa, Bethshan, Taanach, Megiddo, Dor, Ibleam, and others (Judg. i. 27). Manasseh was unable to capture these strongholds at first, and had to settle in the "wooded mountain," or high land, and cut down the wood to clear space for its people (*cf.* Judg. i. 34). In Josh. xvii. 18 Joshua assures Ephraim and Manasseh that they will yet conquer the Amorites "in the valley"—*i.e.,* on the Plain of Esdrælon—"though they have chariots of iron"; and Judg. i. 35 states that in the end "the hand of Joseph prevailed and the Amorites became tributaries" to Ephraim and Manasseh.

From this we deduce that the Book of Joshua contains a kernel written before the fall of these forts—Bethshan, Megiddo, Taanach, etc.—about 950 (see Josh. xvii. 18). Since Judg. i. 35 affirms that the House of Joseph has already triumphed, that part of Judges could not have been written before 950.

No hint is given in these passages as to when these Amorite forts were subdued by the Israelites. According to 1 Sam. xxxi. 10, Bethshan was in the hands of the Philistines after the Battle of Gilboa (*c.* 1030), for they "fastened the body of Saul to the wall of Bethshan." Verse 7 states that the Israelites "abandoned their towns" and fled when they saw the King defeated and slain, and the Philistines occupied the abandoned towns. Bethshan may, therefore, have been one of the cities "abandoned" by Israel in the reign of Saul, or previously.

The next stage in the known history of these three

Amorite forts appears in 1 Kings iv. 12, where we find all three under the dominion of Solomon. They had, therefore, been conquered or reconquered by Israel some time before or about 950 B.C., in the time of Solomon.

The five towns, Jerusalem, Bethshan, Taanach, Megiddo, and Gezer, have recently been excavated. At Bethshan, modern Beisan, and Megiddo (Tell-el-Mutessellim) excavations are still going on. At Bethshan, it is claimed that the very wall on which the Philistines fastened the body of Saul, and the Temple of Ashtaroth, in which they placed his armour, have been uncovered, but no evidence of an Israelite occupation earlier than 1000 B.C.* has yet been published. Somewhere about 1000 David drove out the Philistines and destroyed the Temple of Dagon and the House of Ashtaroth, probably building a Sanctuary of Jehovah on the ruins of the latter.† This conquest must be included in the general statement of 2 Sam. viii. 1: "David smote the Philistines and subdued them."

As the Amorites gave way under the pressure of Israel, the Philistines became Israel's chief opponents. We find them defeating Saul at Gilboa about 1030. No sooner had David captured Jerusalem than the Philistines came up against him.

In regard to Bethshan, therefore, the facts seem to have been as follows: Either the Philistines held Bethshan before the Battle of Gilboa, or they acquired

* *Quarterly Statement,* October, 1926, p. 211.

† *Ibid.*

it from Israel after that battle. That they occupied it excavation has proved beyond doubt, so that we must regard 1 Sam. xxxi. as historical.

When we examine the pottery found in Megiddo, Taanach, and Gezer, we find Hebrew ware predominating from 1000-950 downwards. The earliest Hebrew ware found at Taanach, Megiddo, and Gezer is dated by experts at 1000-900. Some Hebrew ware is placed as early as 1100. At these three places the excavators do not seem to have noted whether Canaanite ware disappeared entirely after the Hebrew occupation.

At Jerusalem, on Ophel, I found Hebrew ware dating from the eleventh century downwards, but alongside of it the Canaanite ware, with its fine, hard, crisp baking, its comparative thinness, its almost metallic ring, and fine surface finish, persisted right down to about 600, suggesting that the Jebusites had never been completely driven out of Jerusalem, or else that the Hebrews used Jebusite pottery as well as ware of their own manufacture. The two classes of ware are so different that there is no difficulty in distinguishing them.

In Josh. xv. 10 Bethshemesh is included in the tract assigned to Judah; in xxi. 16 it is one of the cities assigned to the Levites. In 1 Sam. vi. 9-20 the Ark is taken back to Bethshemesh. All three passages imply that Bethshemesh had been captured by Joshua and was henceforward held by the Hebrews.

Nothing is here said of the Hebrews having any

difficulty in driving out the Canaanites. They seem to have found their greatest difficulty in capturing the chief Amorite hill-forts in the north and Gezer and Jerusalem in the south. Even Lachish succumbed to them without effort (Josh. x. 32), and the excavation of Tell-el-Hesy, the Mound of Lachish, seems to bear out the truth of the statement in Joshua, for there is evidence of an occupation by a nomadic people, who squatted on the ruins between 1400 and 1000 and built no fortifications.

In 1 Kings iv. 9 Bethshemesh is named as one of the towns under the rule of Solomon. In the reign of Ahaz it was taken by the Philistines (2 Chron. xxviii. 18).

The Bethshemesh of Judg. i. 33, in the tribe of Naphtali, is another "house," or "temple," of the sun city in the North, and must also have been an Amorite stronghold. Here, too, the Hebrews failed at first to drive out the Amorites, but "dwelt among them" and, as time passed, ultimately became strong enough to conquer them and make them pay tribute.

Of Gezer we read that Ephraim was unable to drive out the Canaanites, but "the Canaanites dwelt in Gezer among them" (Judg. i. 29).

At first sight this last clause seems to mean that the Israelites and Canaanites dwelt in Gezer side by side, as the Jebusites of Jerusalem dwelt in the midst of the Benjamites.

Gezer was never taken by the Hebrews, but Solomon's father-in-law, the Pharaoh of Egypt, captured it, probably at Solomon's request, and gave it as

a dowry to his daughter, Solomon's wife (1 Kings ix. 16). Solomon then restored the walls and strengthened them with towers, as the excavation of Gezer has shown. The Hebrew pottery found in Gezer bears this out and points to a Hebrew occupation from about 950 downwards.

It is clear, therefore, as the Old Testament itself indicates, that the Hebrew conquest of Canaan was a gradual process, covered a period of at least 300-400 years, and was not completed till the reign of Solomon about 1000.

(*e*) Horses in Palestine—The Practice of Houghing

(Josh. xi. 6, 9; 2 Sam. viii. 4.)

These two passages give us a glimpse of the manner in which the Hebrews dealt with the chariots and horses of their enemies in the North. They made them useless by houghing the horses, a method borrowed from the early hunting practices of the aboriginal cave-dwellers or their successors, the Amorites.

In the first passage Joshua is fighting the King of Hazor at the Waters of Merom, and in the second David takes from Hadadezer 1,000 chariots and horses and houghs all the horses except 100. It is only in battles fought in the north of Palestine and in Syria that horses are mentioned at this period, and how little value was set on them in the South is shown by David's destruction of 900. The horse was, of course,

useless for warfare in the hilly country of the South, but of great service in flat country like the Plain of Esdrælon and further north. In Ezekiel's time, however, horses and chariots had come to be valued by the King of Judah, as Ezek. xvii. 16 shows.

It is the method of rendering horses useless in battle that interests us here. The Hebrews evidently used some special form of spear or arrow, which they aimed at the heel tendon of the horse. If they succeeded in cutting it, the horse was lame for life. They certainly could not very well have houghed chariot horses in battle at close quarters with a short weapon.

Among the Amorite flints of Nagada (about 6000 B.C.), and in other places, we found a flint spearhead shaped like a fish-tail, with fine, sharp teeth on the sides of the angle formed by the two tips. These teeth or notches face toward the tips, being thus intended for a thrust or thrust-cut.

At Nagada we concluded that these were weapons used for hunting antelopes, and had been affixed to shafts. They had been thrown at the running animal at the moment when the hind leg was in full stretch, in such a way as to strike and cut the heel tendon and "hough" the antelope, thus laming it.

Some of these were large and could only have been spearheads, but others were so small and ground so thin that they were light enough to serve as arrowheads, so that this houghing may have been the work of archers.

There is no doubt that Josh. xi. 6 refers to a weapon of this sort, made of flint probably, though bronze

had been long employed and iron was in use in Canaan by 1350.*

In 2 Sam. viii. 4 the horses were disabled after the battle, and for this, naturally, any weapon might have been used. The passage shows merely that the practice of houghing horses to disable them was in use in David's time.

(*f*) Samson's Last Effort

(Judg. xvi. 23-30.)

This passage relates how the Lords of the Philistines held a thanksgiving service to their god Dagon, because he had made them triumph over their enemies and delivered Samson into their hands. In their jubilation they demanded that Samson should be brought into the House of Dagon to make sport for them. Samson, laying hold of the two central pillars which supported the house, pulled them off their bases, thus causing the building to collapse. Not only was the house filled with the Lords of the Philistines and their ladies, but a great crowd had gathered on the roof of the house to see the blind Samson. This statement certainly constitutes a difficulty, implying that Samson was placed in the centre of an open courtyard, with a roofed corridor running round three sides of it.

* The fine collection of flints discovered at Fara (Beth-Pelet) in the winter of 1928-29 conclusively proves that flint was used both for tools and weapons in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, for the simple reason that flint was cheap, while bronze and iron were still beyond the reach of the people.

The local colouring is correct. When the chiefs assembled for any celebration, nothing is more likely than that the common people would assemble on the roof or on neighbouring roofs to witness the proceedings. The difficulty is to understand how the fall of two pillars could, in such a case, cause the collapse of the whole building.

We may, however, assume that the lords and their ladies were assembled in the house proper, while Samson performed in the open court with its roofed portico round it, and that Samson induced the lad to lead him inside from this open outer court.

The date of this incident is between 1300 and 1150. Now, in houses of that period and of the earlier Canaanite periods the roofs were flat and consisted of great logs of wood laid across from wall to wall. Above these was laid a thick layer of twigs or branches, and over that again a heavy layer of beaten clay, smoothed and levelled by polishing stones. This layer of clay had to be thick enough to keep off rain.

Where, as in the case of a temple, the room was too wide for these logs of wood to span it, a row of wooden pillars, usually not more than three or four in number, was erected in the centre. These pillars supported beams, on which rested the ends of the log-rafters, two being used to span the space.

Underneath these pillars, which were themselves similar logs of wood, large flat stones, or plinths, were placed to prevent the pillars sinking under the weight of the roof. To slip two of these pillars off their stone rests would, in most cases, be no hard task for a

strong man, and would immediately cause the collapse of the whole roof.

This is exactly what Samson is credited with having done, so that the detail of the narrative conforms exactly to what we have learned by excavation.

If the Lords of the Philistines and their ladies filled the inner chamber, it cannot have been a very large house. There were probably only four pillars supporting the roof beams. The crowd of people on the roof would, of course, intensify the disaster and make the collapse more complete.

The narrative is, therefore, quite within the realms of possibility, and is, in fact, interesting as confirming the inferences which we have drawn from the somewhat scrappy archæological evidence at our disposal. Only foundations of houses of so early a period remain to us. But in these we have found rows of stone slabs on the floors of large rooms, charred wooden beams, rubbing stones, and other such indications of the nature and construction of the roofs. This passage helps us to understand the purpose of these rows of flat stones or plinths on the floors of large rooms.

To imagine that the House of Dagon was a fine stone building, with an arched or dome roof of stone supported by stone pillars, would be to perpetrate an anachronism. Arched roofs and domes are very rare in Palestine before the Greek period.

The so-called House of Dagon, recently found in Bethshan, which town the Philistines held at the time of the Battle of Gilboa, *c.* 1100 (1 Sam. xxxi. 1), is built of sun-dried bricks, and only fragments of walls

remain. It may be that at Gaza the fine freestone of the district had been used in the walls of this House of Dagon, but the roof would certainly have been as I have described.

It should be mentioned that traces of barrel-arch roofs in houses are claimed to have been found at Bethshan dating prior to 1200, so that the arch is of greater antiquity in Palestine than we had supposed. As Bethshan was occupied by Philistines at that time, this may be attributed to their connection with Crete.

CHAPTER X

JERUSALEM

(*a*) The Little Hill of Zion

(Ps. xlii. 6.)

The Hebrew word used in Gen. xix. 20 for "little" is Mizar. The same word is used in Ps. xlii. 6: "Therefore will I remember thee from the land of Jordan and from the Hermons, from the hill Mizar." In the Authorised and Revised Versions a side note explains "the hill Mizar" as "the little Hill." Apparently just as there was in the minds of the Hebrews a walled city remarkable for its smallness (see p. 78), so there was a prominent hill, also remarkable for its smallness.

For some reason or other, this is supposed to be a hill on the eastern ridge of Lebanon. There is little doubt, however, that this "little hill" was the rock ridge now known as Ophel, on which stood the earliest Jerusalem, Zion, the City of David. Remarkable as it is for its natural strength of position, it is none the less but an insignificant spur of rock, yet no hill has played a greater part in the spiritual history of the Hebrews, and, indeed, of the world.

The Psalmist therefore meant the city of Jerusalem. The "little city" of Jericho was prominent as commanding the passage of the Jordan; the "little hill"

of Zion was prominent as the capital and later the religious centre of the nation.

If the verse implies that God may be remembered—*i.e.*, worshipped—from any part of the country, it would be a proof that the psalm was written before the exile and before Jerusalem had come to be regarded as the one great centre at which alone Jehovah could be worshipped.

(*b*) Description of the City

The name of Jerusalem in the Tell-el-Amarna tablets (about 1400) is Urusalim, "The City of Peace," or "The City, Peace." Some suggest that the God of Jerusalem was "Salem" ("Peace"), and hence the name. The Semites certainly had a God of Peace, as the Assyrian name Sulmanu, Shalman, shows. Four Assyrian kings were named "Shalman-ezer," which means "The God Shalman (Peace) is chief" or supreme. It is unlikely, however, that Salim in "Urusalim" is here the God of Peace; some think the word would be better rendered by our words "safe and sound," "intact."*

That Jerusalem was built and fortified by the Amorites by 2000 B.C. there is no doubt whatever. I am quite convinced from our discoveries on Ophel, and a comparison of them with other discoveries in Megiddo and Jericho, that Jerusalem was an Amorite fort at even a much earlier date.

* *Cf.* the Greek word τελέιος, and Hebrew and Arabic *tamam*.

The word Ophel in Hebrew means a hill or swelling. It occurs twice as a medical term, meaning a boil or tumour (Deut. xxviii. 27; 1 Sam v. 6, where it is translated "emerods").

The earliest reference to Ophel in Scripture is Mic. iv. 8, a passage which is variously rendered by different commentators. The Authorised and Revised Versions seem to me to have the best grip of its meaning. If we accept their text, the verse reads: "O thou, tower of the flock, Ophel, daughter of Zion, unto thee even as it came at the first [*i.e.*, under David and Solomon] shall return dominion, even to the daughter of Jerusalem."

We find Ophel here described—

(*a*) As the tower of the flock, or the stronghold of the flock of Jehovah—*i.e.*, of Israel. The word for "tower" here in Hebrew may mean a "watch-tower," from which the watchman may see beasts of prey coming on the flock, or a "strongly fortified castle." I believe the latter is intended here: "And thou, Stronghold of Israel."

The word "Ophel" is taken by all translators simply in the sense of "hill," and they have therefore to translate it "hill of the daughter of Zion"; but unquestionably we must take it simply as "Ophel, daughter of Zion."

(*b*) Ophel is therefore described also as "the daughter of Zion," and

(*c*) At the end of the verse as "the daughter of Jerusalem."

The two expressions imply that "Ophel" was a

SOLOMON'S MASONRY.

REPAIRS ON THE TOWER "THAT LIETH OUT" PART OF THE MILLO.

facing p. 102.

THE "TWO WALLS" OF JERUSALEM.

THE PASSAGE BETWEEN: INNER JEBUSITE WALL AND "HEZEKIAH" OUTER WALL (8 CENT. B.C.)

facing p. 103.

most important adjunct of Zion and a part of the city of Jerusalem, not the whole city itself.

"Zion" may thus be used here with special reference to the Temple hill, of which Ophel is a "daughter," an adjunct; and "Jerusalem" describes the whole city of Micah's time, of which Ophel is only an important part.

This, I believe, is exactly what was in the mind of Micah, who wrote in the time of Ahaz and Hezekiah (734-701 B.C.). In his time, therefore, Ophel was the name given to the main stronghold or citadel situated at the northern end of the spur of Ophel, adjacent to and south of the Temple rock, but separated from it by the depression afterwards filled up by the Hasmonæans (Maccabees). Or it meant the whole of the ancient fortress, including the citadel, or Millo, and the lower city as well.

In 2 Kings v. 24 we find an Ophel mentioned in Samaria: "When Gehazi came to Ophel." Here the word is generally translated as the "hill" or "tower," and not as a proper name. It is possible, however, that the name was transferred from Jerusalem to Samaria, and was used to describe a citadel within a city. This would indicate that the word had come to mean simply "citadel," and pre-eminently the citadel of Jerusalem. Nothing was more natural than that the Israelites of Samaria should desire to reproduce features of Jerusalem in their new capital. We found the same tendency amply illustrated in the excavation of the Temple of Onias at Leontopolis in Egypt in 1905-6. There the plan of the Temple was so accurately copied

as to prove of the utmost value in reconstructing the Temple in Jerusalem, and many other features pointed to the keen desire of the emigrant Jew to be surrounded by as many reminiscences of the homeland as possible.

In 2 Chron. xxvii. 3 we read that "on the wall of Ophel he [Jotham] built much"; and in xxxiii. 14 we learn that Manasseh "compassed about Ophel and raised it up to a great height." Neither of these passages definitely indicates the position of Ophel, though the latter connects it with the City of David as if they were near, but both passages imply that Ophel was strongly fortified. Manasseh's selection of Ophel for specially strong fortification suggests that Ophel was a citadel, while his raising its walls to a great height is in consonance with Josephus' narrative, and recalls the passage (*War.* V. iv. 1), which describes how the Hasmonæans filled up the valley between the Temple rock and the spur south of it, and how they reduced the height of Akra so that the Temple might be superior to it. This leaves little doubt in our mind that the fortification named Ophel in 2 Chron. is the same as the Akra of Josephus. The Akra of Josephus occupied the northern end of the spur and was separated from the Temple rock by the slight valley above referred to as being filled up by the Hasmonæans.

Isaiah xxxii. 14 contains a very interesting reference to Ophel. The prophet is warning the people of disasters likely to come at the hands of the Assyrians.

"The palace or fortress will be abandoned: the

multitude [*i.e.*, the worthless] of the city will be abandoned [A.V.], the populous city shall be deserted [R.V.]. Ophel and the watch-tower shall be for dens [caves] for ever, the joy of wild asses, pasture for flocks."*

Here, again, Ophel appears to be a strongly fortified place, very familiar to the people, with one tower or watch-tower, which stood out prominently. There is little doubt that this watch-tower of Isaiah is Nehemiah's "tower that lieth out"; and as that tower formed part of Ophel, which we believe to have been a specially fortified citadel just south of the Temple area, it seems quite likely that this watch-tower of Isaiah and that of Nehemiah is the tower which I uncovered.

This accords well with Neh. iii. 26, which refers to a period some 300 years later, about 440. This passage informs us that the Nethinim dwelt in Ophel, as far as the Water Gate facing the east and the tower that lieth out. The eastern Water Gate opened out to a path leading down to the Gihon Spring (the Virgin's Fountain), and must have been situated somewhere in that portion of the Jebusite eastern wall of the city which I uncovered in Fields 5 and 7 of the Government plan of Ophel.

"The tower that lieth out" is the very tower which I uncovered, and which is now a national monument. The eastern Water Gate may have originally been in this very tower or somewhere near to it. According

* "Ophel and the tower" do not occur in the LXX., and are thought by some to be a later insertion.

to Neh. iii. 26, therefore, Ophel occupied the central portion of the hill (above and around Field 5 of the plan), and every detail of the chapter points to its having extended from the Water Gate northwards toward the Temple.

The whole of chapter iii. seems to imply that Nehemiah was at this point really repairing the "outer wall" which I found running along the eastern edge of Fields 7 and 9, and which I have attributed to Hezekiah. This is supported and confirmed by the fact that when they reached the wall of Ophel (iii. 27), "the tower that lieth out," and the Water Gate, the next stage of the repair began above the Horse Gate (verse 28). No mention is made of repairs on the tower itself. This "Hezekiah outer wall" joins on to the southern end of the tower by a straight joint, and runs flush with the face of the tower southwards. It runs also parallel to the ancient Jebusite inner wall at a distance of 27 feet, or thereby, out from it. I found no trace of a second or outer wall in front of the tower itself.

I presume, therefore, that this great tower stood undemolished and practically undamaged in Nehemiah's time. As a matter of fact, I found only two small repairs on the face of it. Both of these were of very rough and ready masonry, and both broke the continuity of the offsets. It was not necessary for Nehemiah to mention such small patches, even supposing they are his handiwork. It seems clear that this tower with the south stair-bastion formed the south-eastern corner of the citadel which Nehemiah describes as

Ophel. In Nehemiah's time, therefore, I conclude that Ophel meant the specially fortified citadel at the north end of the lower city, but there is no evidence that it extended right up to the Temple precincts, though it probably did extend as far as the valley just under the Temple hill.

Nehemiah's statement that the Nethinim, a lower class of Temple servants, descended from the Jebusites, who did the more menial work, dwelt in Ophel, implies in itself that Ophel was situated somewhere near the Temple.

In this connection my discovery of many jar-handles bearing Hebrew stamps, many of them bearing simply the name Yahweh, abbreviated to Yah and Yahu, is of considerable importance. These handles were nearly all found just north of the north stair-bastion, a little north of the Tower of David, where they had been thrown over the wall.

As these jars are regarded as having been either offerings to the Temple or taxes paid in kind at a time when there was no king and Yahweh was the only head over Judah, they must belong to the period of the exile (597-442), when there was no King of Judah. Some of them are assigned to the time of Nehemiah or even later. They may thus have belonged to jars handled by the Nethinim of whom Nehemiah speaks. The exact spot in which these were found is therefore of much importance.

These jar-handles are a confirmation both of Nehemiah's statement and of our location of the Ophel of Nehemiah at the northern end of the lower

City of David. The empty jars of the Treasury had been thrown over the wall at this point by the Nethinim, who had dwelt quite near to "the tower that lieth out."

When Isaiah says "Ophel and its tower shall become caves for ever," he is prophesying that the citadel and its surroundings will revert to conditions in Neolithic times (about 3000-2500), long before any city or fort was built upon the rock. Then the rock spur was occupied by cave-dwellers, some of whose remains, in the shape of pottery, flints, chambers, and burials, I have described elsewhere.*

It is extremely interesting to find that Isaiah was quite familiar with these rock-chambers and caves used as dwellings more than 2,000 years before his time. It proves that when Hezekiah built his outer wall these caves were still open and in use, since Hezekiah and Isaiah were contemporaries, and my discoveries confirm this.

There is still another interesting point in this passage. If the opening clause be translated "For the palace will be abandoned," this must be a reference to "the king's high house" of Neh. iii. 25. There it is narrated that Palal worked "over against the turning of the wall, and the tower which lieth out from the king's high house, that was by the court of the prison."

Isaiah wrote the Hebrew word *aremon,* which is used of a palace because it was "lofty." The word is also used of a fortress.

It seems tolerably clear, therefore, that Isaiah and

* *P.E.F. Annual,* IV., published 1926.

Nehemiah are both speaking of the same "high house of the king." Both regard it as part of, and inside of, the citadel Ophel.

This great house of King David would thus seem to have stood just inside of the great tower, which I have set down as the work of King David himself, and a very suitable and imposing site for it this must have been. The narrative of 1 Kings xviii. certainly leaves no doubt in my mind that the king's house of Hezekiah's time was situated in that vicinity.

In the inscription of Mesha, King of Moab, the word "Ophel" occurs in line 22, and is translated by some as "a hill" or "height," though others translate it "citadel." If the latter is correct it would appear that at that date the word was already used to mean simply a "citadel."

External confirmation of the location of "Ophel" is found in Josephus. In *War.* V., iv. 2 he says that the eastern wall of the city ran from Siloam to the Temple and joined the eastern cloister at a place called Ophel. *War.* VI., vi. 3 connects Ophel with the Temple and the Valley of the Kidron. By Josephus' testimony, therefore, Ophel was situated on this spur, known as the Eastern Hill, and was immediately south of the Temple.

(*c*) The Millo and Ophel

It is significant that Nehemiah does not mention Millo. In 2 Chron. xxxii. 5 Millo appears to be some sort of fortification repaired by Hezekiah, and is

situated in the City of David. There is little doubt in my mind that both passages refer to the same thing. The Millo of 2 Chron. and the Ophel of Nehemiah are one and the same.

There is always the possibility that the name Millo is used proleptically, as some think it is used in 2 Sam. v. 9—that it was the name in use when the final editor issued the finished narrative, and he inserted it to make clear to readers of his own day what exactly the older writer referred to.

The same may be said of Ophel or, indeed, of any place name in the Bible. But in such a case we should expect the old name to be retained and an explanatory clause added, such as, "the same is Millo of to-day"; exactly as in 2 Sam. v. 7, where the name Zion is followed by the explanatory clause, "the same is the city of David."

Though the P.E.F. excavators profess to have discovered at least three "Millos," none of the three has been accepted as the correct Millo.

Two at least of those suggested imply that Millo was some special fortification or citadel at the north end of the ancient Jebusite stronghold of Jerusalem. The third suggests that Millo refers merely to the "filling" up of a breach in the wall of the city.

It probably means "filling" and is of Hittite origin,* as are also perhaps the words *dayyeq* and *tsinnor*. It is used to mean a citadel—*cf.* Beth-Millo

* The original earth ramparts, with *glacis* facing, of the Hittites gave place in Palestine (it appears) to two stone wall facings with earth-filling between.

at Shechem—the walls of which consisted of two facing walls of stone with earth-filling between.

Personally, I believe Millo was a citadel, an expanded tower or barrack, strongly fortified to defend the north end of Jerusalem, where alone it was assailable. It may have received its name because its walls were "Millo" or "filling" walls with two built faces and stone and earth-filling between. This view is confirmed by the fact that in Judg. ix. 6, 20, Beth-Millo seems to be identical with the tower or fort of Shechem in verses 46, 49.

If it meant only the filling of a gap in the city wall, the passage (1 Kings ix. 15-17) quoted need not have referred to the building of the wall as a separate item.

Now, of the seven pieces of work enumerated in that passage, the last four are undoubtedly only repairs or additions to buildings already in existence. The first two are entirely new buildings.

The question therefore arises: To which class does Millo belong? Is it an entirely new erection built by Solomon, or is it a fortification which had previously existed and been partially demolished by David when he took the city?

Critics answer the question according to their several predilections.

The word "build" is here used both in the sense of erecting new buildings and in the sense of merely building up breaches in walls or "repairing"; and, as there is no evidence yet discovered to guide us as to which sense applies to Millo, we cannot decide.

The balance of probability is distinctly in favour of Millo's having been a citadel or fort within the city and built by the Jebusites themselves. The Jebusites were undoubtedly a branch of the Amorites, and the Amorites were too wise and skilful builders to leave the north end of Jerusalem in the least vulnerable.

In my opinion, the section of the eastern wall of Jerusalem, which I uncovered, consisting of the two step-bastions and the great tower "that lieth out," were really part of this Millo, which Solomon repaired. It should be noted that the Hebrew text reads, "And the Millo"—Millo is the only word in the passage which has the article, as if it meant, "And the citadel."

In the account of Hezekiah's repairs on the fortifications of Jerusalem (2 Chron. xxxii. 5), the "Millo" is again the expression used. The words are: "And he strengthened the Millo in the city of David," which can only be a special hold or citadel. It could not mean "a repaired breach in the city of David."

As the Millo is here associated with the "outer wall" (see p. 133) that ran from the great tower down the east side of the city, the passage indicates that the Millo was separate from but adjacent to this outer wall. This confirms my suggestion that the great tower and the two stair-bastions, or the north bastion at least, were part of the walls of Millo.

On this large Davidic tower I found about thirteen courses of masonry of the type already described and now acknowledged to be Solomonic. Further down the east wall I found another section of the wall repaired with similar masonry. Here, then, in a section

of the wall only 120 yards long, we have two repairs acknowledged to be the work of Solomon.

(*d*) The Fortress of Ophel

(Jebus, Urusalim.)

The small eastern hill of Jerusalem, which we now name Ophel, is a whaleback of rock running slightly north-east and south-west from the site of the Temple, now known as the Haram enclosure, in which stand the Mosque of Omar and the Mosque al-Aksa. It is the southward continuation of the rock to which Abraham is supposed to have come to sacrifice Isaac, and on which Solomon and his successors built the various temples of Jerusalem. It strikes one as a most insignificant site for a stronghold of any pretensions. It is barely half a mile long and at no point is it more than 200 yards wide. In some parts, particularly the upper portion—Fields 3, 5, and 7 in the plan—it is barely 100 yards across.

It is difficult to imagine a clever people like the Jebusites or their Canaanite predecessors building a city in which the cross streets could not be more than 200 yards in length and sometimes did not exceed 80 yards. However, actual measurements show that the space enclosed on Ophel alone would be very little short of the area enclosed within the walls of the oldest town of Gezer, a fort of the same period and regarded as an important city of its time. There is little doubt, therefore, that while Jebus may have included suburbs outside of Ophel, the city proper, or stronghold of the

Jebusites, was confined to the lower limits of Ophel. In times of war the inhabitants of the suburbs went down into the stronghold, as seems to be indicated in 2 Sam. v. 17. This is probably the explanation of Josephus' statement that there was a lower and an upper city, and a citadel as well. The citadel or stronghold proper must have occupied the middle portion of Ophel, the lower city the lower end of the hill, and the upper city must have occupied the upper end of the hill and was probably added by Solomon, if we assume that Josephus is here reproducing ancient documents or faithfully recording the traditions (see Jos., *Ant.* VII. iii. 1, 2). It is generally believed that Josephus is here describing the Jerusalem of Herodian times, but I have so often had occasion to find him right that I become chary of assuming his inaccuracy, especially where he had ample opportunity to ascertain the facts.

Not only is the hill Ophel insignificant in size, but its position also gives at first the impression of anything but strength. It is surrounded on every side by hills that tower in height above it. Yet there is not the slightest doubt that Ophel was the site of the Jebusite stronghold taken by King David about 1050 B.C.; of the Urusalim of the Tell-el-Amarna letters, of the Salem of earlier periods mentioned in Gen. xiv. 18, and of the Jebus of 1 Chron. xi. 4. When we examine its position closely and consider its other advantages, we are not surprised.

In those days it was no disadvantage to be thus surrounded by higher hills, since warfare then meant

battering down of walls and fighting in hand-to-hand encounters. Further, the site was unassailable on every side except the north. On the east and south sides the Kidron Valley, 300 feet deep, cut it off from Olivet and the Siloam Hill. On the west a valley, then of equal depth, called the Tyropœon* Valley by Josephus (*War.* V., iv. 1), separated it from the western hill of Jerusalem. These two valleys met at the south end. On east, south, and west, therefore, it was unassailable. On the north side the Jebusites built at least two walls with a valley between, which may have served as a citadel, or they added a citadel north of these walls, which rendered the stronghold practically impregnable. King David found it so, for he was unable to take it for seven years after he began to reign, and the occasion when he took it was probably not his first attempt.

When we realise these facts, our opinion both of the choice of site and of the engineering ability of the Canaanites is greatly enhanced. There was, however, another and perhaps more potent factor in the choice. Ophel is the only site in the neighbourhood which commands an unceasing supply of water.

(*e*) Gihon and Bethesda

In the bottom of the Kidron Valley, just under Field 9, which I partly excavated, is the spring known as the Virgin's Fountain. In Old Testament times it was known as Gihon, and in Christ's time it was known as the Pool of Bethesda (Isa. vii. 3; 1 Kings i. 33, 45; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14; John v.).

* Valley of the Cheesemakers.

The most important passage bearing upon the identification of this spring with the Gihon of the Old Testament is 1 Kings i. 33, 41. There we gather that Gihon was situated so near to En-Rogel that Adonijah heard the shouts of the people who had just anointed Solomon king; yet it was so situated that Adonijah and his friends could not see what was going on. If En-Rogel of 1 Kings i. 9 is the spring now known as Job's Well at the end of the Valley of Hinnom and just south-west of the Siloam Pool, Gihon must be the Virgin's Fountain. No other two identifications will suit the passage. As to the nature of Gihon, Josephus (*Ant.* VII. xiv. 5) describes it as a fountain, and the word Gihon itself means a "gusher."

It is an intermittent spring and is understood to be fed from a natural cistern in the rock some considerable height above it. Into this cistern the collected rain finds its way. By and by, the water, compressed into a space too small for it, forces an exit for itself by a sort of siphon in the softest part of the rock. When the water in the cistern rises high enough to run over the bend of the siphon exit, the whole cistern empties itself into the natural cavity of the Virgin's Fountain, filling it to a depth of 10-12 feet above its normal level, which is not more than 3 feet deep.

In ancient times the cavity could not contain this flow from the hidden cistern and, as at first no other exit was provided, it overflowed to the surface and ran down a small channel in the Kidron Valley to the south end of Ophel, where the water was probably collected into what is now known as the old Pool of

Siloam or the Red Pool (Birket-el-Hamra). This overflow was known as, or at least helped to feed, the Brook Kidron. We find that Hezekiah's predecessors made at least one aqueduct on the surface to carry this overflow of Gihon down to the old Pool of Siloam, which was situated inside the south wall of the city.

The old Pool of Siloam is now a vegetable garden, and a portion of the south wall of the city enclosing it may still be seen. This wall is recognised as probably Jebusite masonry by those who are familiar with buildings of that period.

During the early rains (November to January) and the later rains (March to April) the Gihon Spring may overflow its basin as often as five times a day, the supply cistern being then quickly refilled. In summer the spring flows not more than once or twice a day, but there is always an unceasing supply of water.

The water in this spring is spoken of by writers in the Old Testament, and by Josephus, as being sweet (*War.* V., iv. 1). None of them ever speaks of its being bitter. Yet at the present day it is so brackish that the Silwanis (people of Siloam village) use it only for washing purposes, and will not drink it if they can procure water from the great cisterns of the Haram enclosure. Our men refused to drink it and preferred water from the Haram, but were quite content to drink the water of the Well of Job.

From earliest times the water of Gihon has been credited with healing power. It is so still, I believe. In John v. is recorded the incident of the curing of the impotent man at the Pool of Bethesda. For some

reason, he and others who waited for the troubling of the Pool by the Angel had to step down some distance in order to dip their limbs in the troubled water and be healed. This points to an intermittent spring. The "troubling of the water" must mean the sudden inrush from the hidden cistern. As that meant a rise of 8-12 feet in depth it was unsafe for impotent folk to remain by the edge of the pool when it was low. They would have been overwhelmed by the sudden inflow. They therefore waited in the five-porch corridor at the top of the steps till they heard the noise of the flow, and then made a rush to reach it. The first to touch it was supposed to be healed of his disease.

There is no other intermittent spring in the vicinity of Jerusalem to-day, and no trace of any ancient intermittent spring, now long since dried up, has been found. The Pool of Bethesda must therefore be the ancient Gihon, now known as the Virgin's Fountain. The Pool identified as Bethesda by the White Fathers of St. Anne in Jerusalem is a large cistern perhaps dating from Roman times, though the plaster on it now is plaster of the Crusading period. It is certainly not an intermittent spring, nor is there any spring near it. It is a cistern filled by rain collected from surrounding roofs.

If the "troubling of the waters" meant a mere ripple on the surface, which alone is possible in that cistern, there is no reason why the impotent man should not have sat at the very edge of the water with his limbs dipped in it waiting till its surface should be troubled by the Angel. In that case he should not

have needed anyone to carry him down. The other six "pools" suggested in Jerusalem as the Pool of Bethesda are subject to the same criticism.

It may be urged that no trace of the room with five porches built above the Pool is found at the Spring Gihon, but in all probability, if the accumulated débris were cleared away, traces of these would be found. The ground-level of the valley has risen many feet since Christ's day, and many steps have been added to the stair that leads down to the Pool. It is significant that in John ix. 7 Christ sent the blind man to wash his eyes in the Pool of Siloam. The water of Siloam is the water of Gihon. Both pools, therefore, must have "had healing power" in Christ's time.

This intermittent spring, then, was the main factor in the Jebusites' choice of the Ophel rock as the site of their stronghold. The Jebusites occupied or built this stronghold about or prior to 2000, and I have found indisputable evidence that it was occupied by Canaanites of the First, Second, and Third Bronze Ages, from before 2500 down to 1200, and undoubtedly the spring was their attraction too.

Even before 2500 it was occupied by Canaanite cave-dwellers, as proved by their pottery, burials, and flints, which I found in the caves. In short, this rock of Ophel has been occupied from at least 3000, if not much earlier, and continued to be part of Jerusalem city down to its destruction by Titus in A.D. 70. Thereafter it was outside the bounds of the city and became an olive garden. In A.D. 350 the pilgrim Etheria found it an olive garden. I myself found a

fine series of olive presses of that period, which have been described elsewhere.* By A.D. 70 it is probable that the water of the spring had become brackish to taste, and this may be one reason why the site was no longer valued. The brackish taste is attributed by some to vegetable matter, by others to pollution through the watering of their vegetable gardens by the people with sewage from the main sewer of the city of Jerusalem. The first explanation is the likely one.

Though the Jebusites built their fort beside this spring, they could not include it within their walls. But they brought the water inside by a very clever feat of engineering.

They cut a tunnel from the pool of the spring, ending in a natural cave under the city. At the end of that tunnel they then cut a perpendicular shaft from the cave to a height of 40 feet. From the top of this shaft they finally cut a sloping passage in the solid rock, opening right into the upper end of the lower city. By this sloping passage the women walked down to the vertical shaft and dipped their water-skins by a rope and were thus able to draw water from the spring without going outside the walls. When the spring overflowed the overflow ran along the tunnel and filled the cave and the vertical shaft.

King David attacked the stronghold of the Jebusites about 1050. Even on this occasion he at first succeeded only partially, as 2 Sam. v. 8 and 1 Chron. xi. 6 seem to indicate. Josephus also says that he took the lower

* See *P.E.F. Quarterly Statement*, January, 1926, p. 7.

city easily, but failed at first to capture the citadel or "castle" (*cf.* 1 Chron. xi. 7). It was then that he made the proposal to his lieutenants mentioned in 2 Sam. v. 8. It has been suggested, in explanation of this passage, that Joab entered the Pool of Gihon, climbed the vertical shaft, and gained admission to the city, thus enabling David to capture it. The Jebusites, then, were the makers of this tunnel and shaft, now known as Warren's Shaft, after Sir Charles Warren, who first discovered it.

Though the Jebusites drew the water of Gihon into their city in this manner, there must still have been an overflow from the spring, which ran down the valley and formed the Brook Kidron, for we find a surface aqueduct cut into the slope of the hill and covered over, to carry away this overflow to the old Pool of Siloam.* This aqueduct must be older than Hezekiah's tunnel. It is by some attributed to David.

Undoubtedly there would still be an overflow from Gihon, since the vertical shaft allowed no sufficient outlet for the inrush, and its contents would find their way back to the pool after the inrush had ceased. It was not a satisfactory solution.

We know for certain that the surface aqueduct and the tunnel shaft and passage cut in the rock are older than the tunnel made by Hezekiah to bring the water inside the city, which was a substitute for both.

The surface aqueduct conducted the overflow of Gihon into the old Pool of Siloam, now known as Birket-el-Hamra (the Red Pool).

* *Cf.* Paton, *Jerusalem*, p. 75.

Isa. xxii. 9 implies that the old pool was in existence before Hezekiah's time, for Isaiah there credits Hezekiah with gathering the waters of the lower pool.

This collecting of the waters of the lower pool may mean—

1. Either that Hezekiah diverted the supply from Gihon into a new pool by the Siloam tunnel which he made, or

2. That he collected the outflow from the old pool to prevent its being wasted. See verse 11: "He made also a channel between the two walls for the waters of the old pool"—perhaps to carry the water down to irrigate the king's gardens south of the old, or lower, pool; just as at the present day there is a plastered channel for carrying the outflow of the present Pool of Siloam down to these same gardens for irrigation.

Some, however, translate "ditch" or "channel" of verse 11 by the word "reservoir," and refer it to the new Pool of Siloam made by Hezekiah. The first is the more probable explanation.

So far as actual evidence goes, therefore, we can definitely say that both the surface aqueduct and the tunnel and vertical shaft are older than Hezekiah's time (725 B.C.).

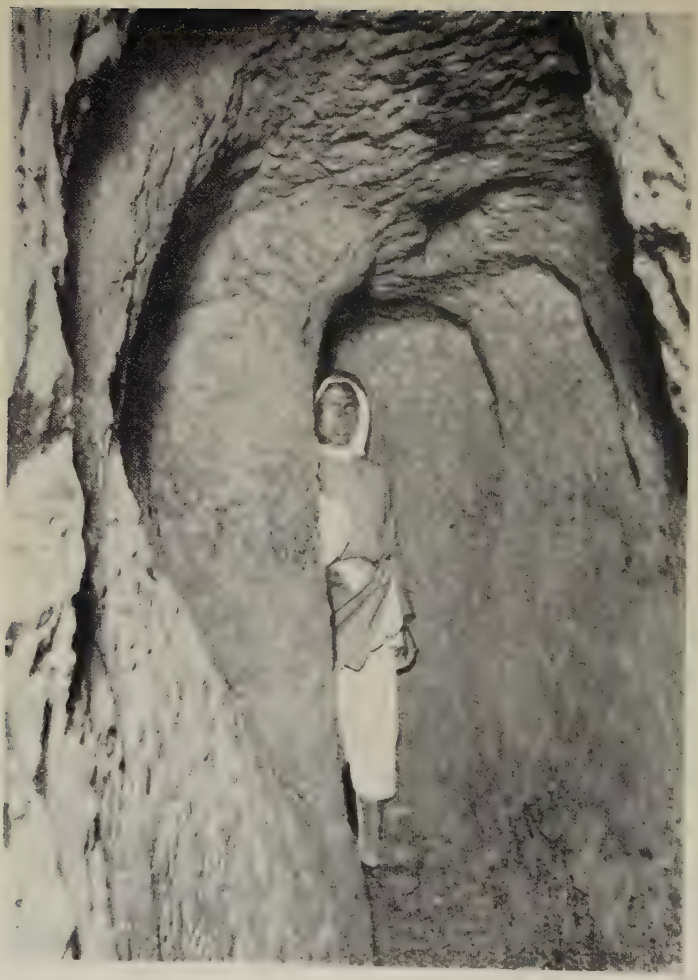
Both seem to have been made by the Jebusites themselves, though some suggest that the surface aqueduct for the overflow was the work of David. This seems very probable.

This, then, was the position in regard to water supply after David took the city. The women could draw water from Gihon Spring or from the old Pool

THE POOL OF SILOAM IN 1909.

WALL OF CHURCH OF EUDOXIA BEHIND THE HOV. THE TURKS BUILT THE MINARET TO CONVERT THE CHURCH TO A MOSQUE.

facing p. 122.



SILOAM TUNNEL.

THE POINT AT WHICH THE WORKMEN MET "PICK AGAINST PICK."

facing p. 123.

of Siloam, without having to go outside the walls of the city. They could either walk down the rock-cut passage and draw water by the vertical shaft, or, soon after David's capture, they could draw water from what is known as the old Pool of Siloam.*

THE SILOAM TUNNEL

It was not, however, till 300 years after David took the stronghold from the Jebusites that a solution of the water problem was carried out on a more complete scale.

Thinking, probably, that the tunnel and shaft were a source of danger, Hezekiah continued this old short tunnel of the Jebusites for a distance of 1,800 feet or thereabout through solid rock, bringing it out at the south end of Ophel, where he built a *new* Pool of Siloam to receive the overflow waters of Gihon. This is recorded in 2 Kings xx. 20, in the words: "He made a pool and a conduit and brought water into the city." 2 Chron. xxxii. 30 records that he stopped the surface overflow of the waters of Gihon and brought them into the city. In Neh. ii. 14 the pool is named the "king's pool." In Isa. xxii. 9, 11, the "lower pool" and the "old pool" both refer to the Birket-el-Hamra, or ancient Pool of Siloam, which was filled by the surface channel from Gihon. The "reservoir between the two walls" in that passage is the new Pool of Siloam made by Hezekiah. Both pools are still visible.

However, in Isa. vii. 3 the words "upper pool"

* See my Croall Lectures (in preparation).

refer to Gihon Spring itself. That passage belongs to the reign of Ahaz, and so to a time before Hezekiah reigned. It cannot, therefore, refer to the new Pool of Siloam made by Hezekiah, unless, as Paton suggests, we assume that the redactor is using the name "conduit of the upper pool" proleptically.

Similarly, in 2 Kings xviii. 17, Isa. xxxvi. 2, where Sennacherib's messengers are said to stand by the "conduit of the upper pool," the "upper pool" is here Gihon itself.

Isa. xxii. 9, 11 imply that Hezekiah stopped the waters of the old pool. After his tunnel was finished there was no longer any surface overflow, and the surface channel (Kidron Brook, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14) was virtually dried up. Since Hezekiah's time, therefore, there had been no Brook Kidron except in the rainy season, when a heavy torrent of surface drainage from the surrounding slopes runs down the Kidron Valley.

From that day to this the whole overflow of Gihon Spring runs down Hezekiah's tunnel to the new Pool of Siloam, where women continue to draw water and to wash. The overflow from it runs down to water "the king's garden."

The romantic story of how Hezekiah's engineers worked from both ends of the tunnel and almost missed each other near the centre is tersely recorded on the Siloam inscription, apparently inscribed by one of the engineers themselves, now in the Museum at Constantinople.

It is significant that Hezekiah built up the old

Jebusite tunnel and shaft at the point where his tunnel leaves it, so that the water could no longer be drawn from the end of the sloping passage (Warren's Shaft) by the women. This seems to suggest that he dreaded its being used by an enemy, according to the suggestion above, as Joab used it. But it must have been a very toilsome task to carry water up from the shaft by the passage, for this passage is not only steep and rough, but there are several places where the descent is a perpendicular drop of several feet with no steps. This is probably the true reason why the tunnel and shaft were replaced by Hezekiah.

We may assume, therefore, that Hezekiah closed the upper end of this ancient shaft inside the city (Warren's Shaft) and allowed it to fall into disuse. We are probably correct also in assuming that he built over and concealed the spring Gihon, so that it would be inaccessible to an enemy (2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4).

It is clear, therefore, from these engineering feats, that the spring Gihon was a most important factor in the original choice of the site by the Jebusites, and continued to be a most valuable asset in the life of the community down to Hezekiah's day (725 B.C.), as well as for many centuries afterwards.*

* The passages Isa. vii. 3, xxxvi. 2, and 2 Kings xviii. 17, where Gihon is spoken of as the "upper pool," and Isa. xxii. 9, which speaks of the "lower pool," seem to imply that in his time Gihon was known as the "Upper Pool," the new Pool of Siloam as the "Lower Pool," and the old Pool of Siloam was known simply as the "Old Pool" (Isa. xxii. 11).

(*f*) The Stone Zoheleth, near En-rogel (Job's Well), just South of Siloam Pool

(See p. 116.)

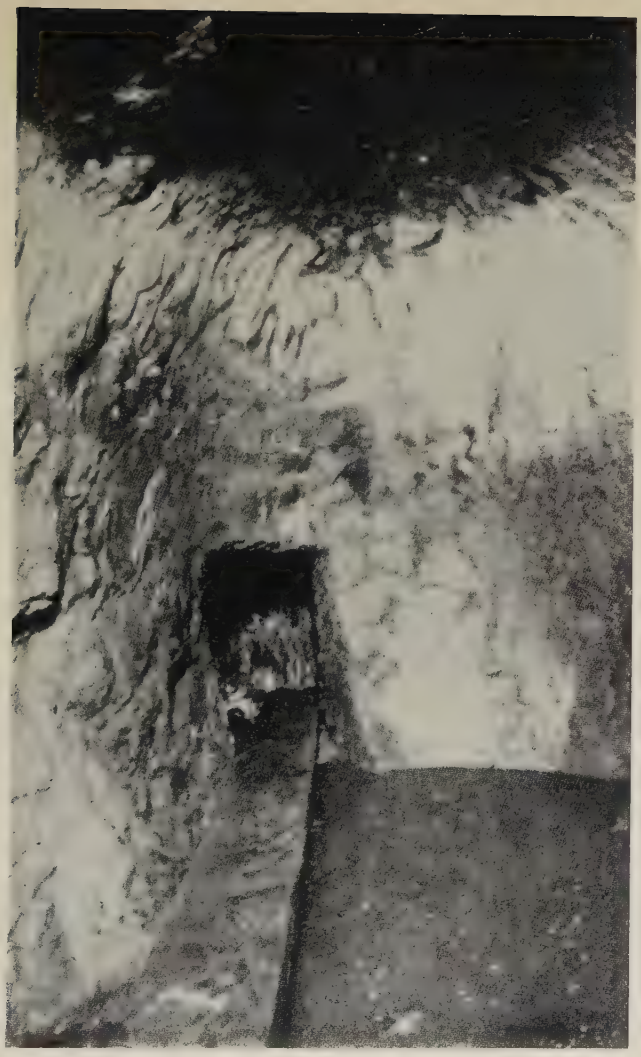
In 1 Kings i. 9 we read that Adonijah "slew sheep and oxen and fat cattle by the stone of Zoheleth, which is by En-rogel," to celebrate his proclamation as king.

In the modern village of Siloam there is a "slippery rock," up which the women carry their water-jars, and which is named to-day in Arabic *Zahweileh*—the same word etymologically as the Hebrew *Zoheleth*. This is obviously an instance of the preservation of an ancient name by tradition and of its transference to a new position.

The modern rock, however, cannot be the place where Adonijah sacrificed, if the Well of Job is En-rogel. It is too far away from En-rogel and too visible from the City of David. Zoheleth must have been an altar erected close to En-rogel, which has long since been broken up or disappeared.

Gesenius takes Zoheleth to mean the "serpent stone." If this is correct there may be a connection between it and the legend that the rise and fall of the water in Gihon is due to the presence of a great dragon in the spring, who swallows the water when awake; but when he is asleep the water rises and flows away.* With this legend of the dragon compare Neh. ii. 13, where the "dragon well" is generally understood to

* St. Clair, *The Buried City of Jerusalem*, Appendix XI.



GIHON SPRING.

(POOL OF BETHESDA).

INTERIOR OF THE CAVITY SHOWING WATER UP TO THE ENTRANCE TO THE SILOAM TUNNEL.

facing p. 126.

THE "TOWER THAT LIETH OUT." CITY OF DAVID.

THE SMALL MACCABEAN TOWER AT THE SOUTH-EAST.

facing p. 127.

refer to En-rogel (Job's Well). The "dragon well" may be Gihon itself.

(g) Later Fortifications

"The Tower that lieth Out."—One of the finest pieces of city fortification of the Canaanite and Hebrew periods yet discovered is the section of the eastern wall of Zion which I uncovered on Ophel in 1924, and which is now a national monument. It illustrates both Canaanite and Hebrew methods and contains, also, masonry belonging to both. It figures prominently in the Old Testament narrative too.

It covers a stretch of 200 feet and consists of three parts. At the north end is a massive rounded bastion or *glacis* of stones, with its face regularly stepped, so that it looks like a fine staircase entrance to the city. In the centre is a large square tower of the Syro-Egyptian type, its face broken by offsets 4 inches deep. At the south end is another massive rounded bastion, a duplicate of that at the north end. The whole, as it stands revealed, is an imposing structure, and must have been a prominent feature of the landscape even before the arrival of Joshua. As it was part of the citadel, this alone was enough to give prominence to the Ophel of Jerusalem.

Before David's capture of the city there was no tower, but a long, sloping-faced *glacis* between the bastions. The *glacis* was converted by David into a tower, and this is undoubtedly the "tower that lieth out" of Nehemiah iii. When I discovered this tower I mentioned this identification in my report, but it was

omitted in the publication, though Macalister has now accepted and used it. The masonry is of various periods.

The lower part of the tower face is Davidic. The upper courses are Solomonic, part of Solomon's repairs mentioned in 1 Kings ix. 16. On the upper section there are two large patches of very bad masonry. These are repairs which had been very hurriedly executed in some emergency. They may be the work of Hezekiah when he feared the coming of Sennacherib, or of Nehemiah. The repairers broke the offsets and did not restore them, thus spoiling the appearance of the tower.

The tower is described as "lying out from the king's [David's] high house," so that David's house was enclosed by this section of the eastern wall. Here also the Nethinim, or inferior servants of the Temple, dwelt in Nehemiah's time (Neh. iii. 26).

The Stairs of the City of David.—The two great step-bastions from a distance look exactly like two massive stairways leading up to the City of David. In Neh. iii. 15 "the stairs that go down from the City of David" appear to be quite near to the Pool of Siloam.

At the dedication of the wall, according to Neh. xii. 37, they began at the Fountain Gate—*i.e.*, near to the Pool of Siloam—and "went up by the stairs of the City of David in ascent of the wall above the house of David, even into the eastern water gate."

In the one passage the stairs are obviously steps that led down to an exit from the city. In the second passage they are described simply as "the stairs of the

City of David in the ascent of the wall," somewhere near the house of David and the east water gate.

I am quite convinced that the house of David, if it was within the fort at all, was quite near to this part of the city wall and was enclosed by it. The eastern water gate probably passed originally through the Jebusite *glacis,* and it is suggested that David converted the *glacis* into a tower to shut up this water gate as being no longer necessary. The water gate on the east in Nehemiah's, or, in fact, in any other period, must have been just at, or near to, this point, for the fountain of Gihon lies just under it. It seems to me, therefore, that in Neh. xii. 37 the " stairs of the City of David in the ascent of the wall " must be these two great step-bastions, and nothing seems more natural than that they should be so known.

The Turning of the Wall.—In Neh. iii. 25 the " turning of the wall " is associated with the " tower that lieth out from the king's high house."

This may refer to the sharp corner just a few yards south of these bastions, at the extremity of my excavations, where the wall, if it followed the edge of the rock, had to turn from a southward direction to an almost westward direction. It is possible, however, that it refers to these bastions themselves. The three form a pronounced curve in the contour of the wall.

In this section of the eastern wall we have the background of part of Nehemiah's descriptions in chapters iii. and xii.

These massive structures were certainly part of the wall that faced David when he besieged the city, part

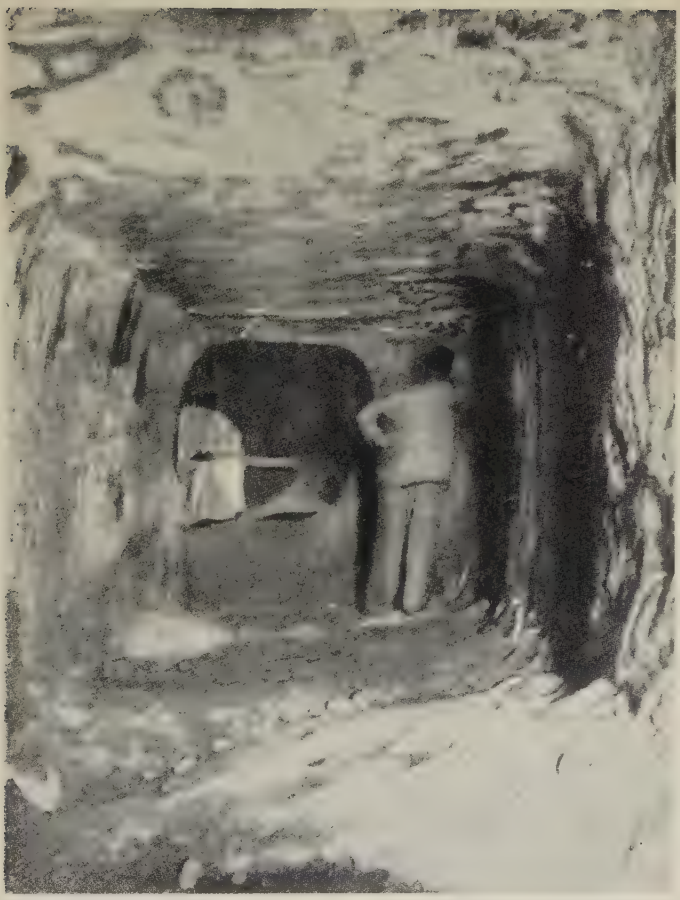
of the original Canaanite fortifications. They were standing there when the Rabshakeh of Sennacherib shouted his insolent proposals in their own language to Hezekiah's officers and the Hebrews assembled on the walls, from the Kidron Valley beneath them (2 Kings xviii. 26, 31, etc.). They stood practically undamaged when Nehemiah returned to rebuild the city.

They stood through the siege of Titus in A.D. 70, and it was in this siege that they had been battered into the condition in which I found them. The upper part of the great tower "that lieth out" had been driven inwards to a depth of probably 20 feet. The north step-bastion was smashed to almost half of its extent, and the south step-bastion had also suffered considerably. Titus planted his engines of war in a small amphitheatre on Olivet at the back of the spot where now stands the new Jewish University, and we found large numbers of heavy stone ballista balls, as well as smaller rounded stones that had been thrown by slings against the defenders, lying in the débris under the face of the tower and bastions.

After A.D. 70 the ancient Zion, City of the Jebusites and City of David, ceased to be included in the boundaries of the Jerusalem which rose upon the ruins made by Titus.

Doubtless, during the early period of rebuilding, stones were freely removed from the tower and bastions to be used for building in the new city; and this may explain part of the damage done.

The well-squared blocks of the Solomonic repair on the tower had very largely disappeared when we



WARREN'S TUNNEL.

THE ROCK-CUT PASSAGE FROM THE SPRING INTO THE INTERIOR OF THE CITY BY WHICH THE WOMEN CARRIED WATER FROM THE VERTICAL SHAFT.

facing p. 130

STAIRS OF THE CITY OF DAVID.

THE NORTH STAIR—BASTION AND THE TOWER.

facing p. 131.

uncovered it, though the room-spaces inside the tower were full of them.

The King's High House (Neh. iii. 25).—This is usually understood to refer to a palace of the king, which must have stood just inside of the great tower and would thus have been inside the citadel or about its southern end.

In Field 5 we found a wall about 100 feet long and only 3 feet thick. This wall Macalister set down as a temporary erection by David to shut out the breach which he had made in the northern wall of the Jebusite city. But if I am right in my conviction that this breach which we found was made at a much later period, this wall cannot have been built for that purpose. If it really was a wall of David's time, it is quite possible that it is part of the palace which David built for himself after taking the stronghold, and is situated just inside the tower and the north step-bastion.

Its foundation also rests on the rock, and such pottery as we found at its base points to the period of David. The length of the wall also favours this supposition. It is very likely, therefore, that this long wall is part of the king's house and treasury, and though the kings may have ceased to reside there before Nehemiah's time, the name would naturally have clung to the spot. The thickness of the wall would be quite suitable for a house or palace, but much too slender for any single wall defence such as Macalister supposes.

The Two Walls of Jerusalem.—In 2 Kings xxv. 4

we read that, after about eighteen months of siege, Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, and Zedekiah's soldiers fled "by way of the gate between two walls, which is by the king's garden." Zedekiah himself fled by the same way. Clearly this means "a way between two walls that led to the gate which opened into the Kidron Valley beside the king's garden." The gate is probably the Fountain Gate, generally supposed to be close to the Pool of Siloam. The "two walls" have also been located in the same vicinity, but two parallel city walls of that period have not yet been found at that point.

In Isa. xxii. 11 Isaiah credits Hezekiah with making "a ditch between the two walls for the water of the old pool."

Both passages imply that at a certain part the fortifications of Jerusalem then consisted of an inner and an outer wall with a space between.

In 2 Chron. xxxii. 5, when Hezekiah was hurriedly repairing the walls for the coming attack of Sennacherib, about 705 B.C., we learn that he built also "another wall without."

As Isaiah is also speaking of Hezekiah's repairs and improvements, the outer wall of Isaiah xxii. 11 must be this outer wall of 2 Chron. xxxii., built by Hezekiah; and, if so, the passage in Isa. xxii. must be part of the record of the king's reign kept by Isaiah. It must be admitted, therefore, that in the time of Hezekiah and Isaiah there was a double fortification of two walls with a space between, whether it had been built before their time or not.

In 2 Chron. xxxii. 5 the word for "build" is certainly used in the sense of "repair" in the first instance, so that the passage may also mean that he "repaired another wall without." It is by no means certain from the passage whether Hezekiah was the original builder of the outer wall or not, and probably it was built before his time and only repaired by him.

It appears practically certain, however, that these three passages all refer to the same section of the fortifications—viz., a line of double walls with a passage between running from the large tower down to the Fountain Gate.

In trying to clear the south-east corner of "the tower that lieth out," we found our efforts blocked by a great mass of stones and earth just in front of the south step-bastion. Dr. Macalister had already cleared away the upper layers of this mass without revealing what it really was. After his departure, when we proceeded to clear away the ground east of it, we found the stone face of another wall. We had been working in the filling of a rampart consisting of two stone-built faces with a filling of earth and stones between them. This proved to be an outer wall joined on to the south side of the great tower, with its outer face running flush with the face of the tower.

This outer wall we traced for many yards. It encloses the south stair-bastion, the mouth of the three caves, and runs parallel to the ancient Jebusite wall at a distance of about 30 feet out from it. At first it rests on débris, but in Field 9 it rested on the rock ledge, which I have spoken of as projecting 30 feet out from

the ancient wall. Just opposite the first part of the Davidic repair on the ancient wall* we lost all trace of this wall and its successors, but it had continued farther, probably, to the extreme south end of the city beside the Pool of Siloam.

There is very little doubt that this section with two walls and a passage between is the section referred to in the above passages, and that this outer wall is the outer wall of 2 Chron. xxxii. 5, which was hurriedly run up or repaired by Hezekiah.

In the Greek period the lower end of it had been replaced by a wall of Greek masonry, which had been repaired in Herodian times. The "passage between the two walls" had remained empty until Maccabæan times, when rubbish began to be thrown in, and from that period down to Arab times the space had been gradually filled up.

In Zedekiah's time, however, the space between the walls was empty and afforded an undoubted means of escape from any part of the city on the east side, from the great tower down to the south end and the Fountain Gate.

Thus we have here the exact passage-way by which Zedekiah himself and his soldiers must have escaped. They probably entered the passage either by the stairs of the south bastion or, more likely, by the funnel of the great cave, the mouth of which opens right on to the floor of this passage between the walls.

The purpose of this outer wall of Hezekiah is very apparent. It was meant to enclose the rock platform

* See p. 138, David's Repair.

in front of the Davidic repair by which David had been able to gain entrance. Probably it was also intended to enclose the mouth of the great cave, which was another possible means of attack with its funnel leading into the very heart of the citadel.* As to its enclosing the south stair-bastion, this was unavoidable. The wall had to be safely joined on to the inner wall, and the only safe point of junction was the tower itself. The great south bastion, therefore, had to be enclosed, and this outer wall rests upon its lower tiers.

(*h*) David's Capture of Jerusalem

In the Authorised Version of 2 Sam. v. 8 occurs the sentence: "Whosoever getteth up to the gutter and smiteth the Jebusites, and the lame and the blind, that are hated of David's soul, *he shall be chief and captain.*"

In 1 Chron. xi. 6 it reads: "Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites first shall be chief and captain. So Joab went first up, and was chief."

The verses present several difficulties. In 2 Samuel the idea of rivalry and the promise of promotion were originally omitted altogether, so that it should read: "Let every one who smiteth the Jebusites attack by the *Tsinnor,* the lame and the blind, hated of David's soul." The words "he shall be chief and captain" are inserted in the Authorised Version from 1 Chron. xi. 6. It is clearly implied that David had some difficulty in capturing Jerusalem, and Josephus says he

* See p. 138, Tsinnor.

succeeded in taking the lower city but failed to take the citadel, or upper city.

The difficulty with which I wish to deal is the Hebrew word *tsinnôr,* which is usually translated "gutter," and is supposed to mean some form of water-course—a channel, an aqueduct, or a tunnel.

Like the word Millo, it is probably of Hittite origin, and we do not know what the word actually signified. If we did we should at once understand this verse, which has puzzled commentators of all times.

From the text before me, the word *tsinnor* must mean either (1) the place where the hated lame and blind defenders can be got at, or (2) a way of getting at them.

It is usually taken to mean some passage or means of entry into the city by which the stronghold could be captured without breaking down the walls.

WHAT WAS THE "TSINNOR"?

1. As already indicated,* Père Vincent of the Dominican School of Jerusalem has suggested that the *tsinnor* was Warren's Shaft, the tunnel and passage made by the Jebusites to bring the water of Gihon inside the city wall. Taking the two passages together, we may thus reconstruct what may actually have happened, though so briefly recorded. Joab took a number of men and descended into the cavity of the spring Gihon when it was not flooded but contained only about 3 feet of water. He and his men crossed

* P. 121.

the cavity, entered the short tunnel, and passed into the ancient cave, which served as a cistern and was flooded when the spring flowed.

From the cave he climbed up the crooked, smooth, vertical shaft. Arriving at the top, he and his men proceeded up the sloping tunnel and in a few minutes found themselves in the heart of the sleeping city at dead of night, and the Jebusite defenders awoke to find their city in the hands of the enemy and the enemy himself inside.

This is a very plausible explanation of the passage 2 Sam. v. 8, though it is not without difficulties.

The vertical shaft of 45 feet length is not only exceedingly smooth, but there is scarcely even a projecting lump to serve as hand-grip or foothold. There are no foot-grips or hollows left in it, nor is it quite vertical. It twists, and has at one point a very narrow passage, through which a man of considerable size would have difficulty in passing. If Joab scaled this shaft he most assuredly deserved the reward.

In the rock above the shaft there had once been an iron ring fixed, through which the women passed their rope to let down or pull up their water-skins. That they used skins is proved by the wonderfully smooth polish on the sides of the shaft.

Unless we suppose that Joab had a confederate inside the city, or that the rope was habitually left dangling in the shaft, I do not think it was possible for any man to climb this shaft.

Close to the top of the shaft, however, there is a large natural cave, which had a small entrance from

the side of the slope just above Gihon Spring. If Joab discovered that small opening and entered the cave, his entrance to the city by the water-passage was quite an easy matter, and, as attacks by night were never expected, the upper end of the passage was most probably left unguarded.

The weakness of this theory, however, lies in the fact that Warren's Tunnel led only into the lower city and not into the citadel, which must have been a little farther north. I have good reason for maintaining that David had already gained access to the lower city, and Joab's entrance by this tunnel would have been of no advantage to him.

The real problem facing David was how to gain admission to the citadel at the northern end of the city.

This is exactly what Josephus has stated, and I do not think we are justified in disregarding the statements of Josephus until we can prove them incorrect.

"TSINNOR" AND "TANNUR"

2. There is another possible explanation. *Tsinnor* may be etymologically the same word as the Hebrew word *tannûr*, "a baking oven," or "a cave with a funnel like that of an oven," as Macalister has suggested (*Gezer* I. 264). A few yards south of the great tower "that lieth out," I found such a cave; and some yards further south from the mouth of this cave I found a section of the Jebusite wall, about 20 yards long, which had been battered in and rebuilt. The masonry of this repaired breach is acknowledged to

be Davidic and the pottery found at its base confirmed this.

It would seem, therefore, that David had made an attack on the eastern wall at this point; and quite naturally, for the wall here receded from the edge of the cliff, and left a platform of rock 30 feet broad for an enemy to fix up an engine of war upon.

There is no doubt also that he forced an entry to the lower city at this point. Some yards to the north of this breach is the mouth of the large cave, which ran under the city itself for 75 feet and had a funnel entrance at its innermost end which led up into the interior of the city at the northern end.

The cave mouth was under the outside face of the wall and had been open for anyone to enter, as was proved by the contents prior to David's time and for centuries after down to Maccabæan times, 150 B.C.

Here we have got a cave "like a baking oven" with a funnel leading to the rock-surface which may well be called a *tannûr*—in fact, it may be the *tsinnor* of 2 Sam. v. 8.

Apart altogether from the identification of *tsinnor* with *tannûr,* this cave with its funnel may well be the *tsinnor.*

The cave would conceal a large body of men, but only one at a time could climb into the city by the funnel. The funnel entered the interior of the city about the centre of Field 7 of Ophel, which would in my opinion have been inside the citadel at the northern end of the city.

In this case the *tsinnor* would have led them into the

heart of the citadel or upper city, to which the breach made by David further down would not have given him access.

This again accords with the statement of Josephus that David forced an entrance into the lower city, but did not succeed in forcing his way into the citadel.

It would also be a much more practicable exploit, since the funnel is only 17-20 feet high and comparatively easy to scale. Joab and his men could have crawled close to the foot of the city wall and gained an entrance to the cave in the darkness of night.

This explanation is open to the same objection as the last, that such an entrance would not have been left unguarded; and to the further objection that at 1050 B.C. the funnel mouth would have been covered over with débris. There was evidence, however, that this funnel for some reason had been kept open, and as the street level of the interior heightened, the funnel-mouth had been heightened also by masonry.

Two facts must not be lost sight of in this passage. The first is that David seems to have felt he was facing an impossible task; and the second is that tradition, as recorded by Josephus, connected his difficulty only with the capture of an upper city or a citadel within the city.

The real crux of the difficulty before David seems to me to be contained in that statement of Josephus. It was the citadel that proved impregnable, as it proved afterwards in later history; and the explanation given to *tsinnor* must, I feel, have some bearing on this fact.

The *tsinnor* was some means or some method of

ENTRANCE TO GREAT CAVE UNDER ZION—WITH FUNNEL "TANNUR."
THE POSSIBLE "TSSINNOR" OF 2 SAM. V. 8.

facing p. 140.

Rock [illegible]

DAVID'S BREACH AND REPAIR ON EAST WALL AT RIGHT CORNER. ROCK PIT IN FRONT.

facing p. 141.

gaining admission to what was regarded as an impregnable part of the city.

NOTE.—The word *tsinnor* occurs only twice in the Old Testament, 2 Sam. v. 8; and Ps. xlii. 7. It seems to have no Semitic etymology, and to have been borrowed from some non-Semitic people. It has been adopted into Aramaic, and Arabic, from the Hebrew, and one meaning attached to it in these languages is "hook," or "flesh-hook." In modern Arabic, *sinnârah* is used around the Sea of Galilee to-day with the meaning, "fish-hook."

CHAPTER XI

TOWERS

In Judg. ix. we learn how Abimelech took the town of Shechem, beat it down, and sowed the ruins with salt. Verse 46 gives the sequel: When the garrison of the tower of Shechem heard this, they took refuge in "a hold of the house of the God Berith." The last clause implies that the temple of Berith was a fortified enclosure; but it is the first clause of which we wish to speak.

The passage leaves no doubt that Shechem was a "walled city," and moreover that Shechem had an outlying tower as an additional defence outside the stronghold or city itself. In all probability this tower of verses 46 and 49 is identical with the "Beth-Millo" or house of Millo of verses 6 and 20.

This is exactly in accordance with the results of excavation. Occasionally, as at Jerusalem, I am convinced, and at Megiddo at an early date, and at Tell Sandahannah at a much later date, we find a tower or citadel specially strengthened within the walled stronghold itself, a citadel within the city, but this tower of Shechem appears to have been some distance, probably north, from the town, as the garrison do not seem to have been aware of what had happened till it was told them.

At Taanach the north-east corner of the main fortification was occupied by a tower, but at a distance of 54 yards north of this tower outside the city boundary was another small tower of excellent masonry. Obviously, this was an outpost to strengthen the defence of Taanach on the side from which the people most feared attack—namely, the north.

On the western half of the north wall of this outlying tower there were loopholes, breast-high, made by breaking the courses and inserting vertical blocks like the side-posts of a door. There were five of these loopholes opening into long corridors, the walls of which were very thick. This series of corridors might be described as the shooters' or archers' gallery, for obviously the loopholes were intended for projecting missiles by engines of war, such as are spoken of in 2 Chron. xxvi. 15, and Ezek. xxvi. 9, or for shooting arrows on an enemy trying to scale the mound. This tower had accommodation for its garrison. It was, in fact, a fortified barrack, with its own cistern or well, the well-mouth being in the centre of an open court-yard. It had probably also been connected with the north gate of the city, beside the north-east corner tower, by parallel walls, as the Piræus was connected with Athens.

This outlying tower of Taanach is of further interest because it was built about 950 by Solomon. The tower of Shechem must date between 1400 and 1100 according to the narrative, which speaks of events that occurred in that period, and must be part of a

Canaanite fortification. It is worthy of note that the garrison of this tower, including women, are given as numbering 1,000. On a relief of Sennacherib's depicting the siege of Lachish, Lachish is represented as having a similar outlying tower.

In Judg. viii. 9, 17, the tower of Penuel which Gideon destroyed appears to have been of a similar nature, either a citadel within the city or a fort outside of it. The passage seems to distinguish between the city and the tower. The tower probably occupied a height overlooking the city, visible from afar and commanding a fine view of the country around, so that no enemy could attack unawares. If, as I have elsewhere suggested,* the modern tower of Salt in Transjordania is the site of the ancient Penuel, then certainly the city had occupied the valley and enclosed the fine spring of water, while the tower was on the northern hill known now as the Castle Hill.

In all probability the tower of Shechem occupied a similar position on such a height, but in such a position that it could not command a full view of Shechem itself.

This tower of Penuel belonged to the same period as that of Shechem and was, of course, originally an Amorite fortification, having been built by the Amorites about or prior to 2000 B.C.

It was destroyed, according to the Old Testament narrative, by Gideon, and rebuilt by Jeroboam I., King of Northern Israel, about 900 B.C.* as a stronghold in which he might take refuge if misfortune befell him

* *P.E.F. Quarterly Statement,* January, 1928.

in Western Palestine. It is curious also to note that at the same time he built Shechem and dwelt in it.* The same passage explains why he rebuilt Penuel: "Jeroboam said in his heart, Now shall the kingdom return to the House of David."† He rebuilt Penuel to be a safe retreat if Israel should return in allegiance to David and desert him.

Judg. ix. 51 mentions also the tower of Thebez, but here the tower is within the city. All the men, women, and children of the town fled into the tower and "gat them up to the top" of it for safety. This is doubtless what always happened in the case of a citadel within a city. When the city wall was broken down and the enemy gained entrance, the defenders fled to the citadel and bolted themselves into it. *Cf.* 2 Sam. v. 9, 17, where David goes down to "the hold" when the Philistines threaten him.

There again, the local colouring of the narrative attests its genuineness. The woman had probably been grinding corn with her hand-mill, and she had simply lifted the upper stone of the hand-mill and dropped it over the wall on Abimelech's head. The site of Thebez has not yet been identified.

The same thing happened at Jerusalem. When Simon Maccabæus took the city, he failed to capture the citadel, which must be the Millo, I think. Antiochus and his men remained in it, and as its walls were so high that they overlooked the Temple platform, they sat on the walls and shot the Jews as they entered the Temple for worship. When the Maccabæans did

* 1 Kings xii. 25. † 1 Kings xii. 26.

succeed in taking the citadel, Josephus says Simon Maccabæus levelled the walls of the citadel and threw the masonry into the Tyropœon Valley so that the same thing should never happen again.

Josephus also records that David captured the lower city of Jerusalem from the Jebusites, but failed to take the citadel or upper city, till Joab took it by stratagem.

It was the practice, therefore, to retire into the citadel before superior force, but the citadel appears sometimes to have held out long after the town itself was captured. In the case of the citadel of Thebez, Abimelech, who seems to have been a brave and dashing commander with great personal magnetism, would probably have succeeded in burning its gate and forcing an entrance, but for the woman's dropping a "piece of millstone" on his head (Judg. ix. 53).

In Neh. iii. 27 we find the word "tower" used of a tower projecting inside or outside (or both) a city wall. "The tower that lieth out" refers simply to the method of fortifying and strengthening city walls by the addition of towers at suitable distances, which seems to have been much developed by the Hebrews.

When the Amorites wished to strengthen their walls they seem in the earliest times to have used bastions or a sloping *glacis* of stones or earth, or both mixed, though on the later Amorite walls, as at Gezer, etc., towers are also found as well as buttresses, as at Safi (Gath).

The finest examples known of such bastions and *glacis* were found on the east wall of the ancient Jerusalem itself in our excavations on Ophel.

The Jebusites at Jerusalem had built a sloping *glacis*. About 1030-1000 B.C. David converted this *glacis* into "the tower that lieth out."

There were towers, however, on the inner wall of Gezer, placed at intervals of 30 yards, and on the outer or later wall at irregular intervals. After Solomon's father-in-law, the Pharaoh of Egypt, took it (1 Kings ix. 17), Solomon repaired the wall of Gezer and added these towers at unequal distances all round it. The existence of three older Amorite towers, however, shows that he must simply have replaced the original towers with his own masonry, re-using the materials.

From the time of David downwards, therefore, the word "tower," in addition to the meaning "fortress," may mean also square, massive buildings added at intervals to strengthen the walls of a city and improve its defences. It is noticeable that such towers were as frequently, if not more frequently, built on the inside of the wall without projecting outside at all, as on the outside.

In the three instances given above, Shechem, Penuel, and Thebez, the word "tower" is obviously synonymous with the words "fort," "hold," or "fortified barrack," just such a fort as the citadel of Megiddo and probably Millo at Jerusalem and the north-east tower at Taanach. It was simply an outpost or fortified barrack for a garrison. Later in the early Hebrew

period the word "tower" came to mean also square towers or buttresses added to strengthen the walls of a city, projecting inwards or outwards or both. The word is used figuratively of God in such passages as 2 Sam. xxii. 3, Ps. xviii. 2, cxliv. 2.

CHAPTER XII

THE INFLUENCE OF CANAANITE RELIGION UPON THE HEBREWS

(*a*) Teraphim

Terra-cotta figurines of an undraped female divinity are found in every excavation in Palestine. They are believed to be figures of the mother-goddess Astarte; the earliest examples date from prior to 2000. Her worship seems to have been brought into Palestine by the Amorites, but she was worshipped by the Hittites as well. These figurines are doubtless the teraphim or household gods of the Old Testament. Astarte is the Queen of Heaven of Jerem. cxiv. 15-19.

In Palestine the figures are found in three forms.

1. Some are moulded in low relief on small clay-baked plaques. These were made in clay moulds, a double mould being used where the back was shown. They were pierced at the top and were hung on the wall of the house. In all of them the features of motherhood are emphasised, but the chief peculiarity is that, in the outline of the figure, the perspective is very often Egyptian. The upper part of the body shows the front view, but the legs and feet are very frequently turned sideways. They seem to be imitations of the Egyptian goddess Hathor.

There is neither soul, character, intellect, nor

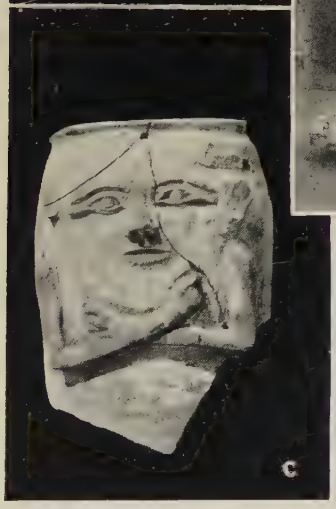
spirituality—not even love—suggested in the face. It is utterly blank and meaningless.

The head usually wears the Hathor wig, the hair being modelled like a large letter *S* on each side of the face. A cylindrical cap of feathers, or a conical cap resembling the Eastern fez, is less common. There is practically no ornament, but occasionally bracelets, armlets, ear-rings, beads, pendants, and suchlike are modelled. In very many examples the hands grasp, or are crossed under, the breasts, but perhaps the commonest form has the hands and arms forming a sort of crescent over the head.

The oldest of these plaques are prior to 2000, but not a single example has been found associated with cave-dweller pottery. It is clear, therefore, that we must associate these Astarte figurines with the arrival of the Amorites and Hittites in Palestine; they are the Canaanite Astartes of the time of Jacob.

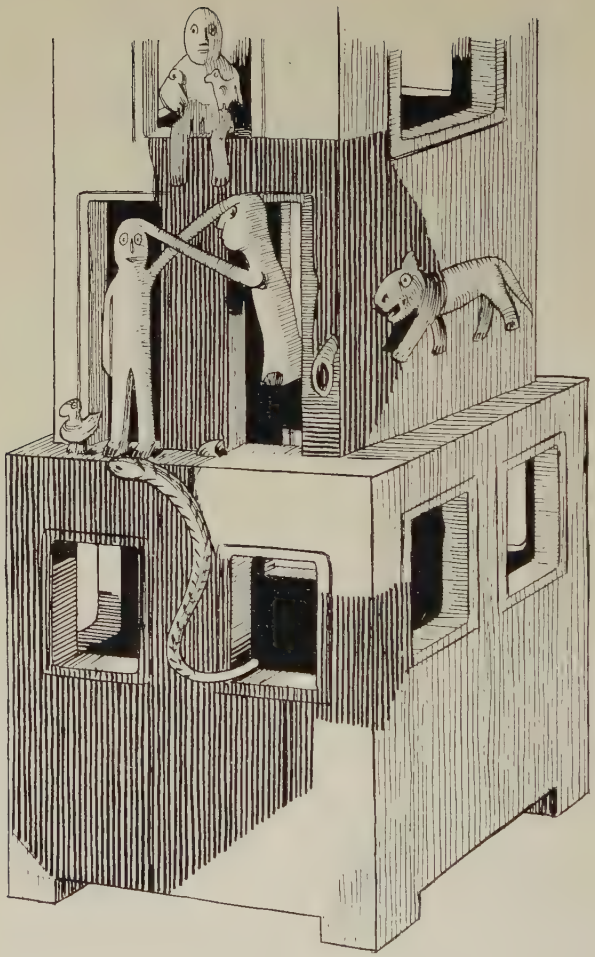
2. Another type, which resembles Cretan figures and may, perhaps, be associated with the arrival of the Hittites, is a terra-cotta figurine or, rather, half-length figure. The features were formed by pinching the clay, before baking, with the thumb and forefinger. This left a sharp nose and hollow cheeks, giving the face a birdlike appearance. These, also, were coloured, and eyes may have been inserted or painted in. They look so crude as found that one can scarcely believe they could have been even symbols of a goddess.

On these early forms the breasts are not shown at all, but the arms are extended in a forward direction, perhaps as typifying the all-embracing mother-love of



A. PEDESTAL BUST ASTARTE.
B. BIRD FACE.
C. "BES" HEAD.
D. NAGADA AND BALLAS.
E. FROM TAANECH.

facing p. 150.



ASTARTE DOLL'S HOUSE.

facing p. 151.

the mother-goddess Astarte. The emphasising of motherhood by exaggerated breasts is a later and degenerate form.

These were all figures of the goddess Astarte, so often referred to in the phrase "Baalim and Astaroth," describing the idols which Israel continually sought after.

The teraphim which Rachel stole were very probably figures of Ishtar, the Assyrian form of the same goddess.

3. A third type is the "snow-man" type, the bust and pedestal figurine of which I found so many broken examples outside the east wall of Zion. In many of these, dating about 600, the head and features are distinctly Egyptian, and the head-dress is usually the Hathor, or S-shaped, wig. These all belong to the early Hebrew period (1000-600).

4. In addition to these, bronze figures, with a tenon for fixing on a stand, have been found. One of these dates as early as the fifteenth century B.C., and has two horns, resembling ram's horns, on the head, curling downwards. The head-dress is cylindrical, and the eye-sockets had contained pearls or some precious stone. This is the Ashteroth Karnaim (Astarte of the two horns) of Gen. xiv. 5.

Figurines in gold and silver were probably also quite common, but no examples have been secured so far. In the early Hebrew period (1000-600), jugs which are really figures of Astarte are quite common, and, in the Greek period (500-100 B.C.), ivory plaques of Astarte are also common.

These figures are all very small, the average height being not more than, perhaps, 5 or 6 inches. The worship of Astarte, the mother-goddess, thus prevailed in Palestine from before 2000 right down through the Hebrew period to 100 B.C. Excavation shows that it was specially prominent among the Hebrews, and that the complaints of the prophets against idolatry were fully justified.

The Astarte of Palestine seems to be a reproduction partly of the Assyrian Ishtar and partly of the Egyptian Hathor, and the rites practised were such as are indicated by Isa. lvii. 3-5.

It is often asserted that Astarte was the moon-goddess and Baal the sun-god, but there is no reliable evidence to establish this. Baal and Astarte are continually associated together in the Old Testament, but so far excavation has thrown no definite light on the cult of Baal.

It is curious that at Nagada, in Upper Egypt, where we found so many links with the earliest Amorite pottery of Palestine, we found also steatopygous figures of women with exaggerated breasts, of which no explanation has yet been offered, so far as I know. It is possible that these are early forms of Astarte and are another link with the early Amorite civilisation of Palestine. They date at least as early as 6000.

There is no reason for supposing that Laban and his family were worshippers of Jehovah, the God of Israel, or even that they were monotheists. On the contrary, Gen. xxxi. plainly implies that they were idolaters and polytheists. Though images stolen by

Rachel are said to have been used only for purposes of magic and divination, yet they are here spoken of as gods—household gods—and were probably worshipped as such. In verse 34 they are described as teraphim.

So strong a faith had Rachel in their power that she could not bear to leave home unless they and their protection accompanied her. She accordingly stole them, and was so determined to cling to them that she concealed them to prevent her father from recovering them. Apparently he was just as anxious to live under their protection and resented their loss. The incident here recorded represents the civilisation of the period 2000-1800.

Images were part of the household equipment of the Canaanites as well as of the Babylonians. The employment of such images, inherited by the Hebrews from their remote Babylonian ancestors and confirmed by association with the Canaanites, was never completely overcome in the Old Testament period.

The Hebrew word "teraphim" is generally understood to mean "images" or "household gods," like the Latin penates. Presumably, they were images of recognised deities, and, in Laban's case, Babylonian images of Ishtar perhaps. Very little information about them can be gleaned from the Old Testament.

Gen. xxxi. 34 shows that they cannot have been very large, since several of them could be concealed about the trappings of a camel. It is possible that these particular images may have been of gold or silver or some valuable material, and that their intrinsic

value explains in part Laban's eagerness to recover them.

In the ruins of ancient palaces of Assyria small figures have been found, usually under the pavement. These are supposed to be images of the gods, who, through these images, will protect the palace and its occupants—a form of sympathetic magic. Some of them are four-winged figurines, similar to the figures so common on bas-reliefs; others are figures of a deity, such as the god Ea or Ae, god of the sea, who is figured clad in the skin of a fish.*

Laban's gods may have been figurines of this latter class.

Judg. xvii. gives some interesting information regarding teraphim. "The man Micah had a house of gods, and made an ephod, and teraphim, and consecrated one of his sons, who became his priest."

It does not appear that Micah made these images to sell them, but rather that he kept a houseful of gods and the people came to consult him in emergencies. Since he set aside a son to act as priest (or diviner, perhaps) and afterwards employed a Levite in the same capacity, it is possible that he himself was simply a maker of idols and that he sold them as well. That he made some of them of silver is quite clear. Elsewhere images, or teraphim, of gold and silver are spoken of as of common occurrence, though I found nothing made of these metals on Ophel.

In 1 Sam. xix. 13 (eleventh century) Michal, in the Authorised Version, takes an image and puts it in the

* Pinches, *op. cit.*, p. 246 *ff.*

bed, to represent David and deceive Saul, so that David may have time to escape. The Hebrew text, however, reads literally: "And Michal took the teraphim and put them in the bed"—"teraphim" being a plural meaning "images."

If the plural form can be used for one image, as the Authorised Version has taken it here, then this image must have been a full-length statue as large as David, otherwise there was little likelihood of deceiving Saul's messengers when they came to see if David were really in bed sick. On this supposition it has been argued that teraphim may be as large as full-sized statues.

There is, however, little to support this assumption, and there seems much against it.

In the first place, the word "teraphim" is plural, and the singular form never occurs. Again, there is no reason why Michal should not have used all the teraphim in her house to carry out her deception, though I admit it must have needed a considerable number if they were mere figurines. Further, the deception was so poor that on the moment of entry the messengers saw that, not David, but the teraphim lay in the bed.

In fact, one can scarcely see where the point lay in the attempted deception, or what need there was for it at all. It is possible, therefore, that at least one of the images was large enough to make a fair imitation of a human figure lying with its head on the goat's-hair pillow, or it may be that the placing of David's household gods on his bed gave some appearance of truth to Michal's statement, as if David were identified

with the teraphim; or she placed them in his bed that the gods they represented might specially protect David.

The passage is not conclusive as to the possible size of these teraphim.

Ezek. xxi. 21 *ff.* pictures Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, employing divination "at the parting of the way" (literally, "at the mother of the way"—*i.e.*, at cross-roads). He wishes to find out how his expedition against Jerusalem will prosper. "The mother of the way" must be the point where the road to Jerusalem left the main route to Egypt.

"He polished his arrows [or knives]," which means he flashed them, probably seeking counsel from the sun. "He questioned teraphim. He looked in the liver [of a sacrificed animal]."

This passage shows that the teraphim were consulted at a crisis, such as military operations. We may infer that they were consulted also in domestic crises or difficulties. Zech. x. 2 ("For the idols [teraphim] have spoken vanity, and the diviners have seen a lie, and have told false dreams") supports this. Through them oracles, "rumours from God" (Jer. xlix. 14; Obad. i. 1), were obtained.

In 2 Kings xxiii. 24 teraphim are among the evils suppressed by Josiah.

In Hos. iii. 4 an image, or pillar (*massebah,* or standing stone), and ephod and teraphim are mentioned as props on which Israel has been accustomed to lean and which she must now learn to do without (*cf.* x. 2).

These are the chief passages in the Old Testament which bear upon the subject.

It sometimes seems (see Judg. xvii.) as if Jehovah himself is represented by the image, and it is very difficult otherwise to reconcile David's possession of teraphim with his devotion to Jehovah.*

Perhaps he, like the people in general, found it difficult to throw off inherited tendencies, or adopted the general utilitarian principle that every possible source of help should be tapped. As Pinches suggests, the Hebrews may have had strong tendencies to monotheism and yet have been impressed when the neighbouring Canaanites recounted the wonderful things done for them by their gods and images.

However we try to explain it, the fact remains that the Hebrews appear to have been worshippers, or at least users, of idols right through their history. Outside the east wall of Zion, the City of David, I found hundreds of fragments of terra-cotta teraphim, pottery figurines, which had been broken in two and thrown over the wall. So numerous were these at one point that it looked as if they had been broken and thrown away in some crisis under the influence of a strenuous appeal made by Isaiah or Jeremiah, who, like Jacob of old, had commanded them to "put away the strange gods that are among you." They belonged to the period 1000-600—*i.e.*, from Solomon to Hezekiah—and were small, crude, terra-cotta figurines 4 to 5 inches in height. The later forms of them consisted of a female bust with exaggerated breasts, set on a small

* *Cf.* also Solomon, 1 Kings xi. 15.

pedestal. On these the heads were frequently Egyptian imitations. They were covered with a thin coat of white plaster or colouring matter.

(*b*) Pillars or Standing-Stones

There are frequent references in the Old Testament to the setting up of pillars.* Some of these were mere memorials; others were cult objects, and used in an act of worship, showing that the Hebrews were familiar with the religious significance of the *massebah,* or stone, set up.

The standing-stone was a religious symbol among the Amorites. Like the Astarte figurines, it was introduced into Palestine by them. No instance of a standing-stone has been found associated with the cave-dwellers, though the Amorite used cup-hollows, as the cave-dweller did, in his religious ceremonies.

The oldest known example of a pillar was found at Gezer, and dates near or prior to 2500 B.C. In the great Canaanite high place at Gezer ten pillars are found associated with underground rock-chambers, cup-hollows, and an altar of sacrifice. At Taanach and Megiddo they are associated with cup-hollows and an altar. In the Canaanite high place at Gath the stones were set in a rough circle, as Joshua set the stones from the Jordan at Gilgal. That these standing-

* Gen. xxviii. 18, xxxi. 45, xxxv. 14-20; Exod. xxiv. 4; Deut. xxvii. 1-8; Josh. iv. 3, vii. 26, viii. 29, xxiv. 26; 1 Sam. vii. 12; 2 Sam. xviii. 18; Isa. xix. 19; Hos. iii. 4; Deut. xvi. 21-22.

ROCK SHRINE. SERABIT, SINAI.

facing p. 158.

CANAANITE CUP HOLLOWS CUT THROUGH BY FOSSE. AT ES-SALT.

facing p. 150.

stones had a religious value is proved by a Phœnician stele, on which is carved a figure in the attitude of worship before three standing-stones. What their exact significance was, whether they were the god himself, or the dwelling of the god, or a mere consecrated link or symbol between the worshippers and the god, it is impossible to say with certainty; but assuredly the idea of a protective deity was so closely associated with these stones that the loss of the sacred pillar implied the loss of the divine aid and protection. The name Beth-el of the Old Testament, perhaps, implies that the stone was the dwelling of the god.

The Hebrews either borrowed or inherited these sacred pillars from the Amorites, with their religious significance.

In the Old Testament we find stones set up as a memorial of some great event or experience, and the place thereafter has a sacred significance attached to it. On his way to Padan-aram, Jacob, after his dream, set up a pillar at Bethel and poured a libation of oil over it. Here the Old Testament uses the word *mazbeah* (altar), not *mazzebah* (pillar). In Gen. xxxv., according to the narrative, Jacob is sent by God to Bethel to build an altar. It is very significant that, before leaving Shechem, on his mission to Bethel, he asks his people to put away their strange gods and be clean (verse 2), which implies that Bethel is to be consecrated as a centre of the worship of Jehovah, also that his family had adopted the religion of the Babylonians, or Amorites.

It may be argued that both these narratives (Gen.

xxviii. and xxxv.) were written long after the event, to explain how Bethel became a "house of God"; but that would not alter the fact that the historical setting of the narrative is accurate. Jacob did exactly what the people around him were in the habit of doing at that period (2000-1600).

In the same chapter (xxxv. 14), to commemorate his meeting with God and the change of his name, Jacob set up a "pillar of stone," literally a "*mazzebah* of stone," and poured a drink-offering as well as an oil libation over it.

In Jacob's farewell covenant with Laban at Galeed (Gen. xxxi. 45-52)—"the heap of eyewitnesses," as the stone cairn was named—the same ceremony was performed, with the omission of the libation or offering.

This incident is interesting as showing that the stone set up was a "witness" as well as a "memorial," and that cairns were also added on such occasions, each person present adding his stone to the cairn (verse 46), and each stone of the cairn being regarded also as "a witness," if the names Galeed and Jegar-Sahadutha be correctly interpreted. Remains of such cairns may still be found on lonely hill-tops of Transjordania. I found a very good example of such a cairn on the hill known as "the Father of Flints," two or three miles south-west of Es-Salt.

The pillar erected by Jacob on Rachel's grave may have had only a memorial and not a religious purpose. It was known long after, in the days of Samuel, as a landmark, as 1 Sam. x. 2 shows.

The twelve pillars erected by Moses (Exod. xxiv. 4)

are associated with an altar to Jehovah. Each pillar was presumably intended as a witness to the oath of fidelity to Jehovah taken by each tribe.

In Deut. xxvii. 1-8 Moses commands the people to "set up twelve great stones, cover them with plaster (*sîd,* lime-mud), and write on the plaster all the words of the law," as soon as they had crossed Jordan into Canaan. That Moses here commands that these stones should be erected on Mount Ebal (verse 4) shows that the people were expected to enter Canaan from Transjordania by the road which still leads from the mouth of the River Zerka (Jabbok) to Shechem. Incidentally, this supports my contention that Mount Nebo, from which Moses viewed the land with its possible routes of entrance, was the hill near Es-Salt and Jebel Hosha, now known as Jebel Sawadeh. The Shechem route would scarcely be visible from the supposed Mount Nebo farther south. However, when Joshua led the people across Jordan he chose the road by Jericho, and the twelve pillars were erected somewhere near Jericho. They were arranged in a circle, and the place was named Gilgal (a circle) in consequence (Josh. iv. 3). Josh. viii. 30 states that he afterwards erected an altar on Mount Ebal in obedience to Moses' command.

If it was the custom to plaster monuments and write upon the plaster so as to avoid smoothing the stone and carving the inscription with chisels, as suggested in Deut. xxvii. 2, this may explain why no monuments inscribed in Hebrew have so far been found in Palestine of this period. No mud plaster could long with-

stand the heavy rains of the rain season, much less could ink or coloured matter resist them.

Other examples of cairns are those piled over Achan in the Valley of Achor, near Jericho, and on the King of Ai (Josh. vii. 26; viii. 29).

After his last message to the people assembled at Shechem, Joshua (xxiv. 26) set up a "great stone, under an oak, near the sanctuary of the Lord," as a witness. "This stone hath heard all the words of the Lord which He spake unto you [through Joshua]: it shall be therefor a witness unto you, lest ye deny your God." Later, in the time of Samuel, the practice continued, and Samuel (1 Sam. vii. 12) erected a pillar to Jehovah after the defeat of the Philistines. A purely personal example is the Pillar of Absalom (2 Sam. xviii. 18), which he erected to be a memorial to himself because he had no son.

In all these instances the primary purpose of the pillar is to be a memorial and a witness, and a religious significance was attached. In most cases, however, they were cult objects used in acts of worship, and associated with other religious emblems. There is no suggestion that the pillar was itself the God; at most it marked a place where God could be met. In that sense, like a temple, it may have been regarded as the dwelling of the Deity, or merely a symbol of His presence.

It is very likely that these passages throw light upon the significance and use of the pillar among the Canaanites, who probably also used the pillar largely as a memorial, a witness to the help of their gods in

great crises; or as a symbol of their presence; but in their case the stone was probably identified with the god.

That the standing-stone was adopted by the Hebrews and used in the worship of Jehovah there is no doubt.

Isa. xix. 19 prophesies the time when five cities in Egypt shall speak the language of Canaan, one of which shall be called the City of the Sun; and there shall be an altar to Jehovah in the midst of Egypt, and a pillar (*massebah*) to Jehovah at its border. Similarly, Hosea (iii. 4) speaks of dark days when Israel shall be "without a pillar," and again the word is *massebah,* though in the Authorised Version it is translated "image."

That the pillar did not remain for the Hebrews a mere witness or symbol, but came to be confounded with God Himself, is also indicated in the Old Testament, which implies that they abandoned their own religious ideas in favour of Canaanite idolatry. We gather that to the Canaanite the stone was the Deity Himself. On the other hand, cup-hollows are frequently found cut in these Canaanite pillars; and it seems unlikely that the Deity would have been thus defaced. Perhaps, however, the cup-hollow happened to be in the rock before the block was quarried, and so may be the work of the cave-dweller.

In Deut. xvi. 21-22 it is expressly forbidden to plant a grove (*asherah*) near the altar of Jehovah, or to set up any pillar (*massebah*). This passage is enough to prove that the Hebrews had adopted the worship of Astarte as well as the pillar of the Canaanites. They

had openly associated both cults with the worship of Jehovah.

These cults, then, were regarded as idolatrous by the Deuteronomic writer. Hezekiah's view of them is clearly shown in 2 Kings xviii. 4. He destroyed the high places, smashed the sacred pillars (*masseboth*—wrongly translated "images"), and cut down the groves (*asheroth*), which were part of the worship of Astarte. It is possible that the pillar represented Baal. The passage leaves no doubt that the Hebrews had adopted both the high places with pillars and the worship of Astarte from the Canaanites, and persisted in their idolatry down to the time of the exile. They had even added serpent-worship. All alike are denounced as idolatry by Hezekiah.

In the inscription of Mesha, King of Moab, Mesha tells how he dragged the Arel (or Ariel) of Dodah from the town Ataroth of Gad, and the Arels of Jehovah* from the town of Nebo, then a Hebrew stronghold, and placed them before his own god Chemosh.

One of the ten pillars of the high place at Gezer showed evidence of having been similarly dragged. It is also of material entirely foreign to the Gezer district.

It has, therefore, been suggested that these pillars were the Arels, or Ariels, referred to by Mesha, the dwellings of the protective deities of cities, and that in war it was customary for the victors to drag away the

* Some, however, read "the vessels of Jehovah" instead of "the Arels of Jehovah" in the second passage of Mesha's inscription.

pillar or Arel of the protecting god, thereby not only humiliating the god of the conquered city, but robbing the city also of its protecting power. The same idea is seen in the carrying away of the Ark by the Philistines.

If this is a correct explanation of these lines in Mesha's inscription, it would appear that, to the Hebrews as well as the Canaanites, the pillar, or *massebah,* was the evidence of the presence of their god, and its loss was serious, since the town Nebo was a Hebrew town, protected by the Arels of Jehovah.

Isa. xliv. 9-17 implies that idol-worshippers identified the symbol with the divinity represented.

At Taanach a Canaanite high place for libations was found, consisting of pillars with cup-hollows associated with a stone trough. The evidence showed that this place had been in use from 1500 to 900, and had been walled in. In other words, the Hebrews had adopted this Canaanite high place, used it, and enclosed it in a temple somewhere about 1100-900.

At Megiddo a Hebrew temple was found enclosing three pillars with cup-hollows on them, an altar, and other furnishings of an old Canaanite high place. Excavation thus confirms and amplifies the indications of idolatry among the Hebrews complained of in the Old Testament narrative.

The pillar may have come to be identified with the city itself. In Isa. xxix. 1-7 there seems to be a pun upon the two meanings of the word Ariel. The first Ariel (verse 1), the idolatrous Jerusalem, is apparently denounced for idolatry, but, through suffering, the city

shall yet become Ari-el in the best sense—"the lion of God." There is, however, no clear instance in the Old Testament of Ariel used in the same sense as found in Mesha's inscription, unless the "Ariel" in this passage of Isaiah really implies that the Ariel, or sacred pillar, of the protective deity came to be identified with the city itself.

Again, in 2 Sam. xvii. 13, where Hushai counsels the complete destruction of any town in which David may have taken refuge, by taking ropes and dragging the town down the hillsides of Transjordania into the river—a feat which could scarcely have been carried out literally—it is possible that Hushai's idea was to capture the town, seize the Arel, or protective pillar, and humiliate the town and its god by dragging the pillar into the River Jordan. This, at least, would probably be the crowning act of destruction.

(*c*) Altars

In the Old Testament there is a clear distinction between pillars and altars.* Excavation confirms this, for we find pillars sometimes alone and sometimes associated with altars. It is quite clear that originally an altar, like a pillar, might be set up anywhere. In fact, a block of stone, or a suitable ledge of rock surface, was regarded as sufficient for the purpose when an altar was set up on any special occasion.

The distinction between pillar and altar is well

* See Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, "Altar" (H. A. A. Kennedy).

brought out in Gen. xxviii. 18, where the stone set up by Jacob is described as a *mazbeah* or altar, not as a *mazzebah* (pillar). In Gen. xxxi. 45, however, at the parting with Laban, the stone set up is described as a *mazzebah*. In the first instance, a libation was poured on the stone, in the second there was no libation. The purpose of the pillar and of the altar in the Old Testament is clearly different. This is confirmed by discoveries of Amorite high places where the altar and the pillars are found side by side.

Built altars are more common than natural altars in the Old Testament passages. That there was a distinction between altars built of several blocks and single stones set up is borne out by the Hebrew words used.

One passage (2 Kings v. 17), where Naaman the Syrian begs for two mules' burden of earth to take home with him for the erection of an altar to Jehovah, seems to imply that in Syria, at least, altars might be built of earth alone, or earth and stone mixed.

Instances of altars built on special occasions and in any part of the country are numerous throughout the Old Testament history. There was no idea of centralisation of worship at Jerusalem or elsewhere in the early periods of Hebrew history, nor, in fact, was this idea fully realised until after the exile, though a tendency in that direction may be traced in the various reforms by Hezekiah and Josiah.

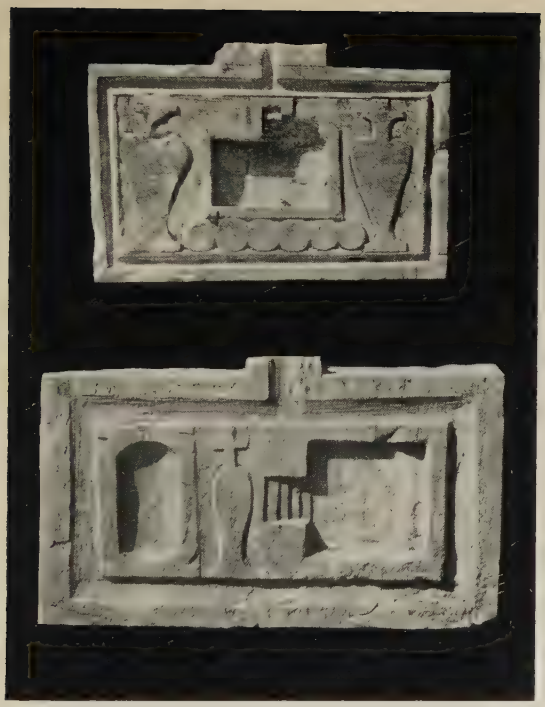
In Canaanite high places discovered, the altars are either rough, unhewn blocks or part of a suitable rock-surface which was occasionally squared on the face, though this may have been due to later quarrying.

On the floor of the larger cave of the high place at Gezer was found a stone block 18 inches square with the skeleton of an infant stretched upon it. The débris beneath it belonged to the cave-dweller period. This must have been an early Amorite altar, with the last infant sacrifice left *in situ*. It shows that stones used as altars were not carefully selected nor prepared, but were simply undressed blocks picked up on the spot. Other examples found are of the same type, but no example of an altar elaborately built of stones has yet been found.

The Philistine altar recently found at Bethshan is a panelled block of basalt with the Cretan cross in high relief on the top of it. This is more elaborate than the Canaanite or Hebrew altar and is a new discovery in Palestinian exploration. As the Philistines are now regarded as of Cretan origin, the altar is probably Cretan, dating from about the twelfth century.

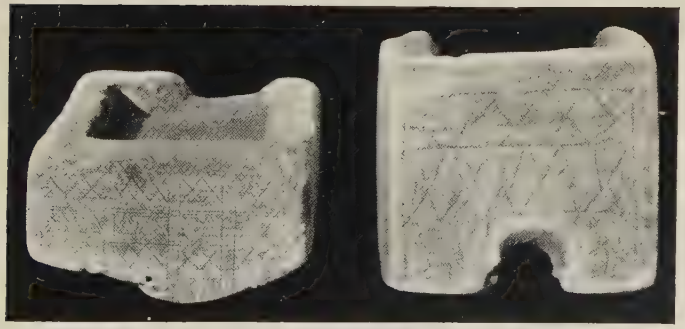
Examples of rock surfaces used as extemporised altars are Judg. vi. 20, where Gideon poured out the flesh and the broth, which he had prepared for his angel visitor, on the rock as a sacrifice; and Judg. xiii. 19, where Manoah did the same on a similar occasion.

Such small rock areas with cup-hollows as are found at Judeideh, Zakariyeh, Tell-es-Safi, and on the hill-tops of Transjordania, may have been extemporised altars or local fixtures.



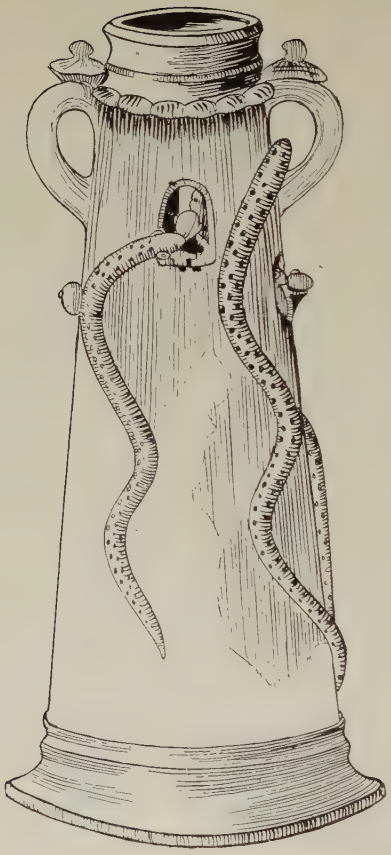
PORTABLE ALTARS.

EGYPT—PTOLEMAIC.



PORTABLE INCENSE-ALTARS FROM GERAR.

facing p. 168.



ASTARTE REMAINS.

JUG WITH SERPENTS.

FROM BETHSHAN.

facing p. 169.

PORTABLE ALTARS

Small portable incense altars or tables of offerings for use in the home are found all over Palestine. They appear as early as 2000, and were specially common among the Hebrews about the seventh century. They are merely small blocks of soft limestone measuring about 3 inches square and 3 inches deep on an average, smoothed, and decorated with various incised geometrical patterns, such as triangles, circles, or rhombi. Occasionally animal figures, such as the camel, ibex, or horse with a bird's head are carved on them.

These small altars were probably reintroduced into Palestine in the eighth century by the Assyrians, among whom they were very common. Of fifteen found at Gezer, the five oldest dated about 1800 and 1400 and were Canaanite. The others range from 1000-100 and are Hebrew. We found several on Ophel in the ruins of ancient Zion dating about the seventh century, and more recently more elaborate examples of the same period were found at Gerar. Similar tables of offerings cut in limestone on a slightly larger scale are common in Egypt.

The burning of incense was part of the Canaanite ritual from early times, and a pot containing incense was found by Macalister at Gezer. It was part also of the Hebrew religious ritual from their arrival in Palestine, as the discovery of these portable altars proves, and was associated with the worship of Jehovah as well as with the idolatrous practices of the Hebrews. That

an incense altar was part of the furnishing of the Tabernacle, as recorded in Exod. xxx. 1-5, xxxvii, 25-28, is not surprising. From the archæological point of view, it is quite what we should expect.* On linguistic grounds, it is customary to regard the incense altar as a "later addition" to the furnishing of the Tabernacle.

The incense altar found at Taanach, which some insist on regarding as a brazier, stands 3 feet high and is 18 inches square at the base. That of Exod. xxx. is about the same dimensions, but is square to the top, while the other is a truncated pyramid. The Biblical one is of shittim wood overlaid with gold. The Taanach altar is of baked pottery ornamented with cherubim (*i.e.,* animal figures with human heads and wings), lions, a serpent, and a sacred tree, all of which are cult symbols. It is believed to date about 700 B.C. A somewhat similar incense altar of pottery dating about 1000 B.C. was found at Gezer. It is a truncated cone with a bell-shaped base and stands only 8 inches high. The decoration is a lotus flower design. Both of these are Hebrew examples. A similar example, also with a lotus flower decoration, was found at Megiddo and shows Egyptian influence.

These examples show that from 1000, or even earlier, incense altars were familiar in Hebrew households.

Since incense-burning is so marked a feature of the Hebrew ritual of the later period, although it must have been practised even in the time of David, it is

* See *H.D.B.*, "Tabernacle" (Kennedy).

probable that the Hebrews adopted the practice from the Canaanites, and the incense altar of the Tabernacle may thus be a later addition to its furnishing in spite of the archæological evidence for its early date.

(*d*) Serpent-Worship

The serpent appears to have been worshipped by the Canaanites, and evidence of serpent-worship has been found in the north temple of Bethshan, which was dedicated to the serpent-goddess, as seems proved by the fact that many of the figurines of serpents found in it have female breasts. As Mr. Rowe suggests, Beth-shan may have received its name from this fact, and may mean "the house of Shahan," the Mesopotamian serpent-deity. On a Babylonian cylinder there is found also the figure of a male serpent-deity, named "Shekhan the son of Shamash (the sun)." Also in Crete and elsewhere the serpent was worshipped, apparently as a beneficent divinity.

The worship of the serpent-goddess at Bethshan continued for at least two centuries, as proved by the number of serpent-cult objects found in the strata of the period 1500-1300. Cult objects of Astarte were also found in the same levels—figures of Astarte, pottery models of the pig, bull, elephant, dove, duck, and of cakes of the "Queen of Heaven." Canaanite religion was manifestly polytheistic.

In the high place of Gezer a bronze serpent $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long was found belonging to about the same period. Quite recently also a stele of the serpent-goddess was found by Dr. Albright at Kirjath-Sepher.

In the Old Testament the serpent appears chiefly as a male power strongly antagonistic to Jehovah. Only in one passage can we say that any beneficent power or purpose is associated with it. In Gen. iii. 1 he appears as the tempter, the great power of evil, and in the New Testament he is identified with the Devil (Rev. xii. 9; xx. 2).

According to the narrative in Num. xxi. 6 *ff.*, when the people rebelled against God and Moses, the Lord sent fiery serpents among them which bit them, and the plague was cured by the erection of a brazen serpent upon a pole; all who looked upon the brazen serpent were cured.

This is the only instance in the Old Testament where any beneficent power is attributed to the serpent. The incident is usually quoted as an example of the staying of an evil by the dedication of a model of the cause in gold, silver, or other metal. Later scriptural writers attribute the cure not to the serpent but to Jehovah through the faith of those who looked up to it. However, the story may record another lapse of Israel into idolatry and be similar to the story of the Golden Calf, which was really a falling-back on the protection of the Egyptian god Apis, or, more probably, the goddess Hathor. (Hathor, as we saw, is in part the prototype of the Palestinian Astarte.) If so, this would be the only recorded instance of serpent-worship in the early history of Israel.

This brazen serpent was preserved, kept perhaps as a memento of the goodness of Jehovah. It seems, however, to have remained a cult object,

for Israel burned incense to it down to the time of Hezekiah.

From their settlement in Canaan, therefore, the serpent of Moses may have been worshipped by Israel, and perhaps contact with Amorite serpent-worship caused this further lapse into idolatry.

In his religious reforms recounted in 2 Kings xviii. 4, Hezekiah "brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made: for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it: and in contempt he called it *nehushtan*—"a mere piece of brass." The word *nehushtan* is supposed to mean "made of brass," and Hezekiah applied this adjective to it to emphasise the fact that it could not possibly be a god, much in the same way as Isaiah ridicules a god made of the same wood as the maker used to cook his food (xliv. 16-17).

It is curious that the Hebrew word for serpent is *nakhash,* while the Babylonian word is *shakhan,* the same letters written in the opposite direction.

(*e*) Sun-Worship

About one mile beyond Suelih, standing on a commanding eminence on the borders of Gad and the land of the Ammonites, is a large stone circle or round tower, carefully built of stones hewn and shaped to design. At first sight it might be mistaken for a cairn, but closer examination shows that it is a perfect circle thrown together for some religious or defensive purpose or both.

The south end of it still stands to a height of 21 feet.

At that level, I found the flooring blocks of the top apparently *in situ,* so that the original height was not much more than 21 feet. On the north and more accessible side the present height is not more than 5 feet. So also on the east and west sides. From these sides many of the enormous blocks have been carried away, but many still remain.

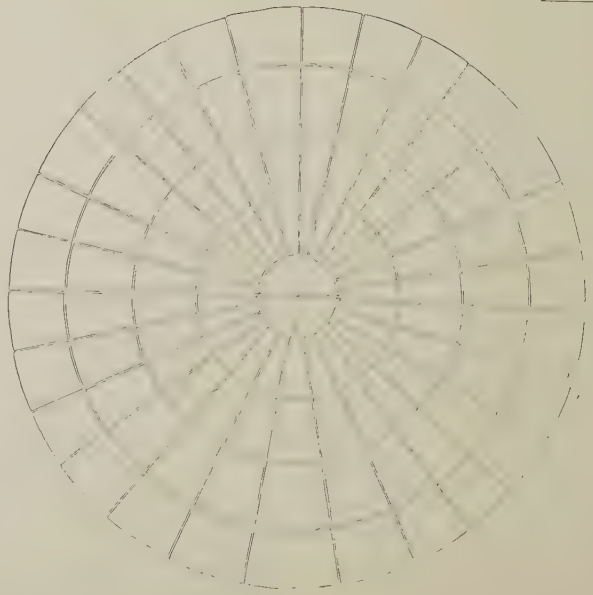
The lower courses of the building are of great boulders, roughly dressed but not tooled, and remind me of Mycenæan blocks and Jebusite walls by their shape and size. These rougher courses have been levelled up on the top so as to make a flat circular floor surface. On the top of this a perfect circle of finely cut stones was laid. This floor circle is 56 feet in diameter. It is composed of a succession of wedge-shaped stones, each wedge in four parts, the row defining the circle being cut convex at the outside end. Inside this outside row, towards the centre, there had been three rows of huge blocks, completing the wedges, the innermost section being made concave at the inside end, and forming a circle 8 feet in diameter at the centre of the floor. The blocks of each wedge varied from $5\frac{1}{2}$-7 feet long. Thus the four wedge-shaped blocks laid end to end made a perfect wedge 24 feet long. The complete set of wedges made a circle 56 feet across, leaving a central circle 8 feet in diameter unfilled. This centre circle was filled with two semi-circles of stone, enormous blocks 8 feet in diameter and the radius 4 feet. Of these one remains, almost *in situ.* One wedge section measured 34 inches at the broad end, 16 inches at the other end, and is 6 feet

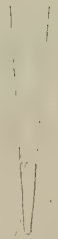
SEMICIRCULAR BLOCK OF CENTRE FILLING—FOREGROUND.
TWO LARGE BLOCKS RIVITTED—SECTIONS OF DOOR-JAMBS-BACK.

GREAT ROUND TOWER—TELL ESH-SHEMSHIYEH "MOUND OF THE SUN" GILEAD. SOUTH SIDE.

facing p. 174.

Sun Tower Reconstructed.
56 feet in Diameter





COMPLETE
WEDGE

long. I have from these data reconstructed the wedge to which it originally belonged. Thus I learn that this block was the third block from the outside circumference of the tower. The first block of the wedge must have had its wide end convex, and measured $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and was 48 inches and 39 inches in breadth at its two ends respectively. The next block was $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet long also and its breadths were 39 inches and 34 inches. The third block found (and drawn on the plan) came next, being 6 feet long, and 34 inches and 16 inches were its breadths. The inmost block of all was 7 feet long, 16 inches broad at one end, and 6 inches broad at the other. Thus, as is to be expected, the difference between the breadths increases towards the centre. The lengths also increase, since with smaller breadths the stones are more easily handled.

This would be a typical wedge or ray and it would take about forty-nine or fifty of these to complete the floor of the tower; but the wedges varied in size. The block found at Ishgareh, another site quite near, was probably the second of a wedge, as its measurements suggest. There is a decrease in breadth of only 3 inches in a 6-feet length, which means it was near to the outside circumference. Thus a complete wedge of the floor measured 24 feet long. It was 48 inches wide at the outside end, and 6 inches wide at the inmost end, and every section was of the same depth or thickness. The tower, therefore, measured originally about 190 feet in circumference.

Every one of these blocks measured 21 inches in thickness. By this, as well as by its shape, I was able

to identify one block at Ishgareh, the next site to the west, as having been stolen from this circle. That they were all cut to the same depth shows that these stones were intended to form a flat floor or level surface.

At first the semicircular block puzzled me, only one being left. I thought it might have been a solid arch over a door. When I began to draw the wedge-shaped blocks to scale, however, I found myself left with a circle 8 feet in diameter at the centre of the large circular floor and nothing to fill it; but the measurements of the semicircular block show that it was only one of two such blocks which filled this central circle. The plan shows specimens of the wedge-shaped blocks drawn to scale, also the semicircular block.

It is quite clear, therefore, that we have here got the remains of a great round tower for sun-worship. The 8-feet-diameter circle at the centre is the sun, and the wedge-shaped stones coming out from it represent the rays.

There are three enormous blocks left which had served as jambs for a door. They measure $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by 2 feet square, with a 7-inch rebate for the door to close on. These three are left because the people around are not able to remove them. There must, therefore, have been a door leading into the interior of the building, and, as the three are lying on the east side, the door was probably there.

This implies that there was a chamber or chambers inside this great *migdal,* or tower, entered from the east, and roofed over by this wonderful representation

of the sun, made of such carefully cut blocks and with such mathematical exactness.

What was it?

Was it an Ammonite temple for sun-worship? Or was it "Ed," the altar built by Reuben and Gad to form a cult centre for them at home, and save them the trouble of going to worship Jehovah at Shechem (Josh. xxii. 21-34)?

The latter supposition is unlikely. It seems to have been a high place for sun-worship. The name of the hill and of that on the opposite side to-day is Gebel Esh-Shemsiyeh, which means "the Hill of the Sun," and preserves the tradition that this district was a centre of sun-worship. There is nothing to indicate a definite date for the tower.

The fact that it stands on the very border between Gad and the land of the Ammonites is significant. Probably this is the Ramath-ha Mizpah, "the high place of the watch-tower," given in Josh. xiii. 26 as one of the boundary-marks defining the territory of Gad. It served the purpose of a high place as well as of a defensive outpost on the boundary of the Ammonites.

That it closely resembles the round towers from this same district described by Mackenzie, and found in Minorca, as well as, I believe, recently in the Mayan civilisation of British Honduras, cannot be doubted. But none of the examples from these sources has been described as having such a remarkable surface floor.

CHAPTER XIII

MISCELLANEOUS

(*a*) Solomon's Levy

And this is the reason of the levy which King Solomon raised: for to build the House of the Lord and his own house, and Millo, and the Wall of Jerusalem, and Hazor, and Megiddo, and Gezer.—1 Kings ix. 15-17.

Here it is definitely stated that Solomon carried out certain building and repairs on the sites mentioned.

It is interesting to find that he adopted the Egyptian method of the levy, or *corvée*. He called up a certain number of men from certain towns to give free labour for the State, to help in erecting and repairing public buildings. The men were called up in relays and for a month at a time. It was a species of slavery. In 1 Kings ix. 20-22 it is expressly stated that only the Canaanites left in the land had to render this bond-service. "Of the children of Israel Solomon levied no bondman."

It is curious to find that the Turks continued this method in carrying out public work in Palestine, finding no difficulty with the people. It is still more interesting that, without any compulsion or even invitation, the Arabs came forward in the same manner for the British Government, and constructed a road of several miles in the Hebron district, but in this case entirely by free labour, some years ago.

The levy would be called up between seed-time and harvest.

As to the work here described, no one disputes that Solomon built the Temple, as well as a palace for his Egyptian wife, but not a scrap of masonry remains which could be described as part of either building. The palace has disappeared, merged into later buildings, and the Temple masonry has vanished into the restored temples of later date.

The repairs of Solomon on the Millo and the walls of Jerusalem are described on pp. 111-112 above.

(*b*) Hazor, Megiddo, Gezer, and Taanach

Of Hazor we as yet know nothing, since excavation has not yet begun there.

At Megiddo and Gezer, however, the same masonry has been found in repairs of the walls; and the fact that these two sites, as well as Jerusalem, have yielded masonry of this type, which is so striking a contrast to the other masonry around it as to immediately attract the attention of the excavator, leaves no doubt whatever that in all three towns the repairs were executed by the same builder—Solomon.

The narrator's care in recording (1 Kings ix. 16) how the walls of Gezer came to be broken down is particularly interesting. Solomon's father-in-law, the Pharaoh of Egypt, had demolished a section on the north side, and his father David had smashed the walls of Jerusalem; so Solomon's first task was to repair their damages on the walls of the two forts.

We wish the writer had been as explicit about Megiddo. Probably the wall of Megiddo had been broken by Solomon himself, but much more likely by David, his father, or earlier still by Joshua or the Egyptian king, Thothmes III.

The Hebrew pottery found in Gezer, as already stated, bears out the fact that it was occupied by the Hebrews by 900 B.C. So also does that found at Megiddo.

Although Taanach is not mentioned in this passage of 1 Kings, it has preserved for us the best examples which we possess of the building activity of Solomon. There the north fort and its outlying tower are undoubtedly the work of Solomon. These are spoken of elsewhere. These were forts erected by him from the materials of Canaanite walls destroyed for the defence of the northern confines of his kingdom. The works referred to in 1 Kings ix. 15 were repairs or rebuilding of walls already in existence.

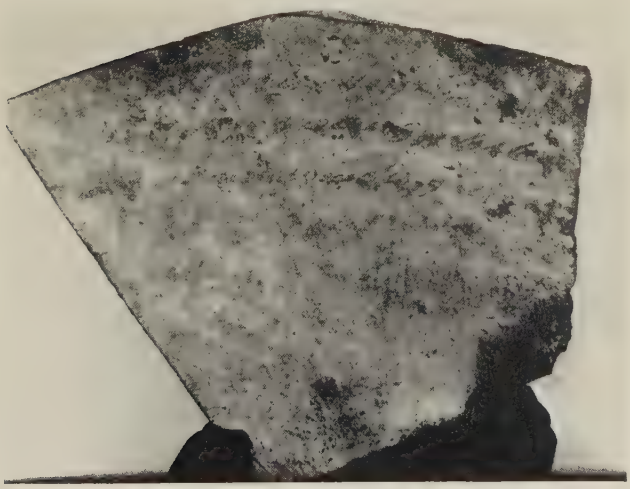
(*c*) "Jehovah" and the Monuments

The fact that Israel's God, Jehovah or Yahveh, is not mentioned on any monument discovered in Amorite sites is not surprising, since no inscriptions have been found.

The earliest mention of the name Yahveh in Palestine occurs on the Moabite stone, where Mesha tells how he dragged the Arels of Yahveh from Nebo and placed them before his own god Chemosh. This inscription belongs to the tenth century B.C.

The Temple of Solomon was built for Yahveh, but

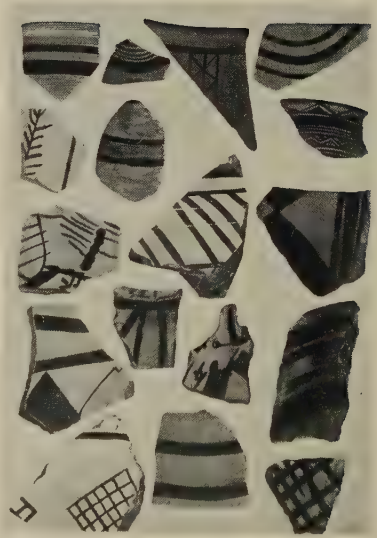
THE NAME JEHOVAH (YAHU) ON JAR HANDLES.



HEBREW CURSIVE WRITING ON POTSHERD. C. 700 B.C.
(FOUND ON OPHEL BY J.G.D.)

facing p. 180

PREHISTORIC PAINTING FROM NAGADA
(EGYPT) PRIOR TO 4000 B.C.



EARLY PAINTED CANAANITE WARE.
PRIOR TO 2000 B.C.

facing p. 181.

no dedicatory tablet has been found; indeed, it is doubtful if any of its stones remain in their original position.

After the Exile (597 B.C.), when there was no King of Judah and the Government became a theocracy, the revenue was paid into the Temple, and the jars containing the wine or oil paid as taxes were stamped on one handle with the name Yahveh, and, perhaps, on the other with the name of the town or taxpayer who sent them. I found many of these jar-handles in the sloping face of débris outside the eastern wall of Zion. The empty jars had evidently been thrown over the city wall by the Nethinim, or lower class of Temple attendants.

So far as is known, these are the only instances of the name of Jehovah (Yahveh) found on any relic of the Hebrew period.

(*d*) Portraits and Drawings at 700 B.C.

Ezek. xxiii. 14 speaks of Chaldeans portrayed upon the wall with vermilion. Jer. xxii. 14 speaks of a man painting the walls of his house with vermilion. Perhaps l. 2 also refers to pictures, for in the Authorised Version the words translated "images" is the same as that used in Ezek. xxiii. 14, and literally means "shadows."*

The vermilion spoken of is the "red earth" (Greek, μίλτης), or ochre, which potters used in varied shades

* In modern Hebrew this word is now used to mean "photographs."

to decorate their pottery in Palestine from the earliest period downwards. Here and there among the ruins of ancient Zion I found lumps of this clayey sort of ochre, which had been part of a potter's stock-in-trade. Lumps of it were found also in a Hebrew house at Jericho.* At least 500 years before the period of Jeremiah or Ezekiel, the Canaanite was drawing crude figures of animals, occasionally of men, and painting them in the same vermilion on his pottery.

About 700 Sennacherib besieged Jerusalem and took Lachish. In the description of his capture of Lachish upon his sculptured stele, now in the British Museum, the details of the mound of Lachish are so carefully and accurately reproduced that the carving was obviously made from drawings done on the spot. That a king should take a scribe with him to record his deeds of prowess on a campaign is quite natural and usual, but here Sennacherib had, it appears, taken with him a skilled draughtsman to take home drawings from which his sculptors could make a record on imperishable stone of the victories of their lord. The drawing on this stele is so carefully detailed that Petrie has claimed it as an accurate picture of the mound known as Tell-el-Hesy; in other words, he claims that the picture on the stele of Sennacherib's capture of Lachish proves that Tell-el-Hesy is the site of Lachish.

In Num. xxxiii. 52 pictures, images, and high places, or altars, are mentioned as the features of the Canaanite idolatry which Israel is to destroy. Here again the same word "shadows" is used for pictures.

* Sellin and Watzinger, *Jericho*, p. 73 *ff*.

Clearly, when the final redactor of the Book of Numbers wrote the book there was a tradition that "pictures" formed part of the worship of the Canaanites. The pictures are distinguished from images.

When Ezekiel (viii. 10-12) describes the idolatrous practices of Israel in imitation of Canaanite worship, the images are plainly pictures of idols painted on the walls of a chamber.

Similarly, in Isa. ii. 16, "pleasant" or seductive pictures are among the things which the coming of "the day of the Lord" will remove.

So when "pictures" or drawings are mentioned in the final editions of the various books of the Old Testament, the redactor is guilty of no anachronism in using the expression. Though the Hebrews may not have possessed the gift themselves—and their decorated pottery shows how deficient they were—their neighbours were artists of a kind.

The decorated pottery of the last two Bronze periods (2000-1200), though it does not display great skill, shows considerable variety of design, in which trees, animals, and even human figures (though rare) are attempted.

The beautiful black and yellow painted ware of Greece was also quite well known in Palestine by 700 B.C., and Cretan ware must have been known much earlier. The Hebrews must have been familiar with Canaanite drawings on pottery from the time of their arrival in the country, though they do not seem to have attempted either to imitate or improve upon them. Modelling in clay, however, they practised

freely. Figures of the goddess Astarte, of men on horseback, heads of other deities and animals, are found in hundreds, but all of them are extraordinarily crude. They date from 1000 downwards, probably earlier.

(*e*) Joshua XIII. 3

Joshua and the Philistines.—1 Sam. xxxi.

On page 83 above I have suggested that the original document of Joshua was probably contemporary with the events recorded. I find an interesting confirmation of this in a comparison of the two passages Joshua xiii. 3 and 1 Sam. xxxi. 7. The first passage refers to the period of conquest, about 1180 B.C., and records that Joshua did not subdue the Philistines, but left them in peaceful possession of their five cities, Gaza, Gath, Ashdod, Askalon, and Ekron. This implies that in 1180 B.C. the Philistines were confined to the southern plains of Judea. The excavation of Gerar, Bethpelet, Bethshemesh, and Gath has proved beyond doubt that the Philistines occupied this portion of Judea at that date. The statement of Joshua is therefore quite correct.

In 1 Sam. xxxi., however, we find the Philistines in the valley of Jordan at Bethshan, in the North, on the plain of Esdrælon, and at Gilboa. This passage refers to the end of Saul's reign, 1030 B.C., and implies that the Philistines had now pressed north and eastward, occupying, in fact, all the best farming land of the country (see 1 Sam. xiii. 19, etc.).

The Book of Joshua is assigned by critics to the eighth century or later. If the book is so late, it is curious that in Joshua xiii. no mention is made of the Philistines in the North.

Had the writer of Joshua written at a late date, and known of this northward migration of the Philistines, he would probably have described Joshua as having defeated, or at least encountered, the Philistines in the North. But he does not. The writer of Joshua obviously knew nothing of this migration. He knew only of Philistines occupying the southern plain with five prominent cities. The original document must, therefore, have been written somewhere about 1150, certainly before 1030, the approximate date of the Battle of Gilboa, when the Philistines held the Plain of Esdrælon with the cities built on it, and were the dominating power in Palestine, as is plainly implied in Joshua xiii. 19, which refers to the same period.

The excavation of Bethshan has proved that the Philistines occupied that town at that date (1030), so that both the passages preserve the actual historical facts which have been established by excavation.

The only alternative to this is that, if Joshua was written at a late date, the writer had authentic information before him as to the exact movements of the Philistines in the two different periods—*i.e.*, the historical setting is correct.

(*f*) Iron in the Old Testament

There are frequent references to the working of iron and the use of wrought iron in the Old Testament. In 1 Sam. xiii. the Philistines about 1050 are described as smiths (verse 19), and as having chariots, which would at least have the wheels shod with iron. Judges i. 19 speaks of chariots of iron in the South, Joshua xvii. 16-18 at Bethshan, and Jezreel at 1170. Jabin had chariots at 1100 B.C., and Og, King of Bashan, had a bedstead of iron (Deut. iii. 11). All these passages speak of iron as being in ordinary use in the thirteenth to twelfth century.

Until recently it has generally been assumed that wrought iron was not in use in Palestine till 1000, and on this account these passages have been regarded as anachronisms, the writer imagining that what was true of his own period was true also of this much earlier period!

As it happens, the writer's statements are quite correct, both as to date and fact. There is no anachronism.

Excavation at Gezer and Gerar has proved that iron was in use at 1300, and in quite common use by 1200 in Palestine. At Gerar, which was occupied by the Philistines by 1170, small ironwork was found dating 1300, and massive hoes and plough points of iron dating 1170. The Philistines of Gerar, therefore, were smiths, as the Old Testament states. They had furnaces, too, for smelting their iron, and smaller furnaces

for making and tempering swords. They made swords, and they made chariots with wooden, box bodies and solid wooden wheels, which they doubtless shod with iron. Pottery models of these chariots and wheels were found at Gerar, some of the wheels having smooth rings and others spiked, for gripping in loose sand.*

Archæological discovery is, therefore, in complete harmony with the Old Testament narrative on this point, and attests its historical accuracy. So far as the use of iron at 1200 is concerned, these passages need not be later than the period which they profess to describe. In fact, they may very likely be contemporary with the events recorded.

* See my Croall Lectures (in preparation).

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